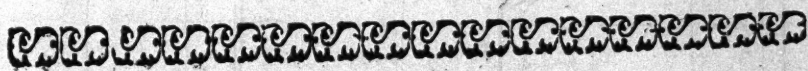


THE
Critical History
OF
ENGLAND,
Ecclesiastical and Civil.



PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD.

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Critical History

OF

ENGLAND,

Ecclesiastical and Civil.

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, ESQ.

V. J. B. 6
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Critical History
OF
ENGLAND,
Ecclesiastical and Civil:

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WHEREIN
The Errors of the Monkish Writers,
and others before the Reformation,
are Expos'd and Corrected.

As are also the
DEFICIENCY and PARTIALITY
OF
Later HISTORIANS.

And particular Notice is taken of
The History of the { And Mr. Echard's
Grand Rebellion. } *History of England.*

WITH
REMARKS on some Objections made to
Bishop Burnet's History of his Times, and the
Characters of Archdeacon Echard's Authors.

The SECOND EDITION Corrected and Improved.

To which is added,
A Review of Dr. Zachary Gray's Defence of our Ancient
and Modern HISTORIANS, &c.

LONDON: Printed for J. PEMBERTON, at
the Buck and Sun against St. Dunstan's Church
in Fleetstreet. MDCCLXXVI.

By J. Robinson

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THE
CRITICAL HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND
Ecclesiastical and Civil.

WITH
The Errors of the Monkish Writers
and others before the Reformation
are Exposed.



BRITANNICUM
MUSEUM

And a critical Notice is taken of
The History of the (And also Edward's)
Great Rebellion, &c. History of England.
WITH
Remarks on some Opinions made to
Bishop Burnet's History of his Times, and the
Character of Archbishop Edwards's Actions.

The Second Edition is corrected and improved.
To wit, the
Addition of the Second Edition, &c. &c. &c.

LONDON: Printed for J. P. Knapton, at
the Foot of St. Dunstons Church
in Fleet Street, 1724.

PREFACE.

THough I cannot say I was prevail'd upon by the Importunity of Friends to publish this Treatise. I can safely affirm I was much and long importun'd to write it; and should not have undertaken it, had I not thought it necessary for the Preservation of our present happy Constitution in Church and State.

Had there been any Thing of Pique, Envy or Jealousy in it, I should have been more impatient, and not have suffer'd my Passions to be Six or Seven Years a cooling. The Undertaking is, I know, invidious, and liable to Misrepresentation. As I love Ease, and the Good-will of Mankind, I would do nothing to disturb the one, or forfeit the other: But I am not sensible of deserving either, by the Pains and Trouble I have been at, to prevent the Mischiefs that have and may be done by some Modern Histories.

If Whitlock and Rushworth are true, the History of the Rebellion cannot be so. If the present Government is founded on Revolution-Principles, and it is the Interest of England to preserve Union and Love among Protestants; the whole Bent of Mr. Echard's History lies another way, from the Beginning to the End.

What can be more necessary then, than to set People Right in that which most concerns them, their Religious and Civil Liberties, and justify the Proceedings of the present Age, by those of the past? What can be more useful, than to confirm our English Principles by those of our Ancestors, and shew that the Revolution is an ancient and certain Part of our Constitution? Of which nothing appears, but the quite contrary, through all Mr. Echard's History.

If in what is to come of it, he should be oblig'd to speak more favourably of the Foundation of our Establishment; it will hardly make Amends for the Shakes he has given it in the History of the Reigns since the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

The Parliament that restor'd King Charles the Second, justify'd the Proceedings of the House of Lords, and House of Commons, from the first Session in November, 1640, to the End of the Civil War; as being in their own Defence, and to bring Delinquents to Justice. Yet, during all that Period, the Historian treats them as so many Rebels; and vindic-

vindicates, or extenuates all King Charles the First's Invasions of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

Is it fit that such an Impression should be left on the Minds of Englishmen; or that the Resistance at the Revolution, should be represented as a Rebellion? Is not our most Gracious Sovereign's Rightful and Lawful Title, the best Security we have for all that is dear to us, too much struck at in such bold Assertions, or dangerous Insinuations; and is it not the Duty of every Loyal Subject, as far as he can, to disprove and oppose them?

As to Mr. Echard's Honesty, I am as ready to do him Justice as any Man; but there's a great deal of Difference between Honesty and Zeal, and between Honesty and Genius. 'Tis pretty plain, by his Preface to his last Volume, that he look'd on his Work as in a Degree of Perfection, above Censure or Criticism; and I would never have given him Cause to think otherwise, had not the Errors in it turn'd most upon Things of the highest Concernment. The World should have thought what they pleas'd of his Method, his Conduct and Stile. They might have match'd them with those of Livy and Cicero. I should not have envy'd him the Character; though perhaps I might, in those Points too, have had my Objections. But when I found that all our Fathers and we had said and done for Liberty, Spiritual and Temporal, was un-

said and undone, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Parliament in 1640, & seq. and the Convention in 1688, represented as so many Acts of Sedition and Rebellion; it was high Time to look about, and see whether there was any Reason or Right in our Constitution, or any Truth in what the Historian said against it.

So far I suppose the Reader will join with me; and how he will do it in the Prosecution of my Design, I must leave to his Candor and Judgment.

Whatever Airs the Historian gives himself, whether he resents or despises my Remarks, it shall be alike indifferent to me: For I did not at all consider him in the Work, but the Interest of the Publick. However, it will be an entire Satisfaction to me, and the greatest Reward I would hope for after so much Trouble and Pains, if he himself should be among those that shall be convinc'd of the Necessity of it for preserving the sound Principles, which are the Basis of the best Establishment in the World, I mean those of the Revolution.

The Bishop of Salisbury's History of his Times, will go a good way in expelling the Poyson, with which the Reader may be infected by Mr. Echard's. The Endeavours of a Faction to depreciate his Lordship's Performance, will be as impotent, as other Attempts of theirs to subvert, or perplex the
the

the Government. I have in this Treatise observ'd, what the Bishop foresaw of Answerers and Abridgers, who like the Bubble of the Brook, are broke as soon as blown, or rather are forgotten, like last Years Flies. The next Thing they have in View, after the Pay, is to be taken Notice of; and to name them in any Manner, would be Compliment. One of the Bishop's Remarkers does that for himself, as if really his Name was worth being known, and there was no Shame in putting it to so dull and scandalous a Libel.

As to the Abridger, Bishop Burnet's own Sentiments will be most satisfactory: ABRIDGMENTS, * says his Lordship, are generally hurtful.

I must confess I was surpriz'd to meet with some Men of Sense and good Disposition, who gave into the common Calumny of the Disaffected, with respect to the Bishop of Salisbury's History, when there is not the least Appearance of Insincerity in it. There are Negligences of Style, and some Things taken upon Hearsay, not exactly agreeable to the Fact: And how was it possible for an Historian to avoid such Ships? He cannot know every Thing himself. It is sufficient that he has his Memoirs from credible Persons, for him to give Credit to them, and relate them

* Vide Pref. to the Abridgment of the Hist. of the Reformation.

as Truth. *A great Part of the Bishop's Work was within his own Knowledge, and one cannot but believe what he delivers to be true, in so Religious and Solemn a Manner. In most Places he names the Persons from whom he had Information; and it is very plain he has said nothing which he did not really know or believe. Upon the whole, there cannot be a History written without some Imperfection; and no Man can write of such Things, and in such Times as the Bishop did, but he must give Offence to one Side or other; and to offend that which has the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country against it, is worth no bodies Concern.*

The kind Reception the First Impression of this Treatise met with, going off in the dead of a Long Vacation, encourag'd me to spare no Pains in Revising and Correcting it.

Being at a great Distance from Town, I know no more of its Fortune, than I can learn from the Sale, and am no farther solicitous about it, than as it gives Satisfaction to such as wish well to the Constitution.

I have been cautious of swelling the Bulk of this Volume, to the Prejudice of the Purchasers of the First Edition, and therefore have only added a few Passages to enlighten and enliven the Subject, reserving the rest for a Second Part, having before me Observations enough upon some late Histories, for many such Volumes. Though I shall probably be
tir'd

tir'd with the Task, after a Second is finish'd; which, God granting me Life and Health, will be done in Two or Three Months.

I was appriz'd of an Objection that some People have made to it. The Design, they say, is good, and the Execution of Excellent Use, but then it is too short; one of the best Faults a Book can have, and I wish I cou'd say the same of Mr. Echard's.

I thought I had sufficiently obviated that Objection, by the very Title, The Critical History of England, &c. not the History of England; but, was it not for the Jingle, it might properly enough have been stil'd the History of the Histories of this Kingdom, which I particulariz'd to refer the Readers to them for the Facts.

If I were to write the History it self, I shou'd not have been diverted from my Subject by Remarks upon others. And whether I shall ever have Time or Courage for such a bold Attempt, my Fate alone must determine: Sure I am, that Work is yet to come; and it were very easy to procure Authentick Memoirs, to supply the Place of Echard's Tales, Visions, Dreams, Speeches, Proclamations, Ceremonies, &c.

As to the Ten Letters publicly address'd to me, upon the Subject of the Falsities and wilful Errors in Mr. Echard's History, I have said something of them in the Body of this Book, when Occasion offer'd; and shall only here assure the Reader, that they are so far from being, as
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we meet with in the Foppery of some Farces, Letters from a Man to his own self, that I knew nothing of them, till after they were Printed and Publish'd; but confess I was pleas'd to find, that what I had said of his History, was approv'd of, and supported by a Man of so good Sense, Knowledge and Integrity.

T H E

fit; and others have not Capacity to do it; were they to do so.

They read a History or Memoirs with the same Intent to pass away the Time; and what they read lies upon their Memory, like Injunct Meats upon the Palate, without either Relish or Nourishment.

The History of the Emperors and Kings, of the Stratagems of War, and the Arts of Government, What can we learn from the History of Alexander, or the Life of Caesar?

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The Critical History Part I.

fit; and others have not Capacity to do it, were they so dispos'd.

They read a *History* or *Novel* with the same Intent to pass away the Time; and what they read dies upon their Memory, like insipid Meats upon the Palate, without either Relish or Nourishment.

The Cry is, What is it to us how Emperors and Kings, Consuls and Generals behav'd themselves? What to us, the Stratagems of War, and the Arts of Government? What can we learn from the *History* of *Alexander*, or the Life of *Cæsar*? 'Tis enough for us to mind our Business, and take Care of our selves and Families. Are we like to be Emperors and Kings, Consuls and Generals?

Such as make these Objections, will probably never meet with an Answer to them, thinking it Time lost to enquire further about it. But others will consider that the Frame of Men's Minds is much the same, let their Condition be what it will. The Passions, Virtues and Vices, operate alike in all, though upon different Objects. Ambition, Interest, Revenge and Lust, commit the same Ravages in the Minds of Men; and the ruinous Consequences of gratifying them, are Lessons in low Life, as well as the high. Virtue, Wisdom, Humanity and Goodness, accompany'd with Power, have a Lustre which charms all that behold them, and invites them to imitate what they so much admire. Example certainly makes stronger Impressions than Precept: And the Profit the Reader may acquire by reading good *History*, will have quicker and surer Effects, than cold lifeless Lectures, and formal trifling Declarations. It will enlarge his Soul, inspire him with generous Sentiments, make him in Love with Justice, Moderation, and Clemency, and give

give him an Abhorrence of Tyranny, Cruelty and Oppression. He will learn to despise every Thing base and mean, and qualify himself for the Duties of a good Subject, and good Citizen. He will be taught Wisdom by the surest Ways, as a great Modern Author phrases it, *For History sets before us what we ought to shun, or to pursue, by the Examples of the most famous Men whom it records, and by the Experience of their Faults.*

Of such Use is History to Mankind in General, and to *Englisemen* in Particular, it is still much more useful, as it informs them of the Antiquity and Strength of our Constitution, lays open the Foundations of our Liberty, and shews them how it has been preserv'd from *the First of Times*, to our own, against the Assaults of Power and Priestcraft, and how it has been frequently and miraculously sav'd, when it was on the very brink of Ruin.

The *English* Reader will observe, that all the Assertions of the Divine Right of *Hereditary Succession*, are false and groundless: That those *Churchmen* who have preach'd it, have been either Knaves or Fools. If they knew the Constitution of their Country, and the Practice of their Ancestors, they were Knaves, and spoke against their Consciences. If they did not know them, they were Fools for wading beyond their Depth; or rather blind Guides, who brought those they led into the same Danger with themselves. That such Guides were, and are still blind for the most part, is indeed too true. How can it be otherwise? Wisdom and Learning are not the Portion of the Multitude; and as such Doctrine has been the way to Preferment, ever since Archbishop's *Laud's* Ministry, 'tis no wonder the inferior Clergy make Use of their only Method of Rising Without Learning, Judgment, and Wisdom, 'tis impossi-

ble to deserve Distinction: And a Man of no Merit may have much *false* Zeal, which does the Business better than the *true*. Thus it is, that the Pulpit and the Press have been employ'd to contradict plain Fact, and common Sense; and no Regard has been had by these Men, to the Strength of Reason, or Truth of History.

As to Argument, I have nothing now to do with it, and the Topick is become stale. But as to *History*, we shall shew what Advantage an *English* Reader may get by looking into that of *England*.

CHAPTER II.

Of General and Particular History.

THE Use of History in General, being allow'd by the Wise and Learned in all Times, and all Nations, there needs no other Argument to prove it. But *Particular* Histories are doubtless more useful than *General* ones, in as much as they let the Reader into the Detail of the Events which have happen'd to a particular Nation, and he becomes thereby better acquainted with the Laws and Customs of a Country, with the Virtues, Vices and Characters of its Governors. His Reflections will be the more useful, as the Application is the more easy.

However, 'tis necessary to know, how the Affairs of one Nation have Dependance on those of another; and what has happen'd in the Succession of Ages, in the several Quarters of the World. This is the Work of *General* History, which with respect to Particular, is the same as a general Map, and a particular one. In a particu-

lar Map, you see a Kingdom, or Province, divided into its several Precincts within it self: In a general Map, you learn to place those Parts, as they have Respect to the Whole, and as they are a Part of the Globe. The last general History, and the shortest of the Kind that ever appear'd, was the Bishop of Meaux's *Discours Sur L'Histoire Universelle*. His Introduction, which I shall translate, will save me some Labour in considering this Subject.

“ If History were of no Use to other Men,
 “ *says that eminent Prelate*, it should be read by
 “ Princes: There is no better way of discovering
 “ what the Passions and Interests of Men, what
 “ Times and Conjunctions, what good and bad
 “ Counsels may produce. Histories are compos'd
 “ only of the Actions about which they are em-
 “ ploy'd, and seem to be made chiefly for their
 “ Instruction. If Experience is necessary to ac-
 “ quire that Prudence which will make them
 “ reign well, there is nothing more necessary to-
 “ wards acquiring it, than to joyn the Examples
 “ of past Ages, with the Experiences of their
 “ own; instead of learning to judge of the dan-
 “ gerous Affairs which befall them, at the Ex-
 “ pence of their Glory, by the Help of History
 “ they form that Judgment on past Events, with-
 “ out putting any Thing to Hazard. When they
 “ see the most hidden Vices of Princes, notwith-
 “ standing the false Praises that were lavish'd on
 “ them when living, expos'd to the Eyes of all
 “ Men, they are asham'd of the vain Joy that is
 “ occasion'd by Flattery, and are convinc'd that
 “ true Glory can only be the Effect of true Me-
 “ rit. Further, it would be a shameful Thing, I
 “ will not say for Princes only, but for every
 “ Gentleman, not to have a due Knowledge of

“ Mankind, and the memorable Changes that
 “ have happen’d in the World in the Series of
 “ Times. If we did not learn from History to
 “ distinguish those Times, Men would be repre-
 “ sented under the Law of Nature, the same as
 “ they are under the Gospel. We should talk of
 “ the Persians conquer’d by Alexander, as of those
 “ Victorious Persians under Cyrus. Greece would
 “ be made as free in the Time of Philip, as in
 “ that of Themistocles; the Roman People as
 “ Victorious under the Emperors, as under the
 “ Consuls; and the Christian Church in as peace-
 “ ful a Condition under Diocletian, as under Con-
 “ stantine. He closes this with a Piece of Flattery,
 more gross than any himself has condemn’d in Histo-
 rians. “ And we should speak of France, during
 “ the Miseries of the Civil Wars, in the Reigns
 “ of Charles the IXth, and Henry the IIIrd, as
 “ of France, now united under so great a Mo-
 “ narch, when she alone triumphs over all Europe.
 “ To avoid these Inconveniencies, My Lord,
 “ continues Monsieur de Meaux, addressing to the
 “ Dauphin, you have read over so many Antient
 “ and Modern Histories, &c. to be short; now
 “ The Bishop’s Universal one, is indeed too short,
 and the Knowledge to be acquir’d by it, would
 be no more than may be learn’d in a Dream. But
 there are other more copious General Histories, by
 which the Reader may conceive as good an Idea
 of Events in the Series of Times, as he can of
 the Globe, from a Map of it, &c. now more
 “ There is no better than our Dr. Howell’s: He
 was a Man of Indefatigable Labour, and great
 Learning. His Work is not so much a General
 History of the World, as Collections of Histo-
 ries of all Nations, translated from their Authors
 Ancient and Modern: So perfect a Translation,
 that

that the very manner of the Originals is preserv'd in his Copy.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* is now in a great Measure laid aside, there being no Comparison between him and *Howell*. The latter, besides his more modern Language, has all other Historical Advantages. The Abridgment of *Raleigh*, and the Continuation of his History of the World, in Four Volumes *Octavo*, will serve such well enough, as have not much Leisure or Inclination to go deeper into this Matter, and there is no Need of others.

But if a Man is dispos'd to sacrifice his whole Life, of Three or Fourscore Years to this Study, he may in *Degory Wheare*, find a Catalogue of General and Particular Historians, which will at once effectually employ and confound him.

Wheare's Attempt shews us the Vanity of Learning without Judgment; and I'll engage, whoever follows his Advice, shall tire before he reaches half his Journey.

By Learning here, I mean such Sort of Knowledge as is generally acquir'd in a College, where the least Genius's are commonly most Laborious, and devour much, without troubling themselves about Digestion. A great deal of Reading makes Scholarship, and indeed the greatest Part of the Merit of some boasted Names. I am too well acquainted with Books, not to have discover'd some of their Secrets; and that many of them dip no deeper for their Learning, than *Index's*, *Common Places*, *Citations*, &c. for which they deserve more Praise, than such as waste their Lives in a Confusion of Study, without being of any real Use to themselves or the World. I cou'd not avoid this Digression once for all, to prevent the Reader's mistaking Labour for Genius, and Pedantry for Literature.

There's a notable Argument in *Degory Wheare's* Book, about History. *Quintilian* and *Vossius*, Two of the most eminent Criticks in the Learned World are of Opinion, that young Gentlemen, and Persons of their Level, as to Capacity, may read History with Profit, as well as Pleasure. But *Degory Wheare* supports the Judgment of certain Outlandish Criticks, *Keckerman*, *Ubertus Foliotta*, *Sebastianus Foxius*, *Viperanus*, &c. who assert, that No Man should attempt to read History, before he understands the Method of Moral, Oeconomick, and Politick Precepts; that is, in *English*, before he is Master of the Rules for Manners, Behaviour, and the Regulation of Mens Actions, before he understands the Management of the Passions, and the Art of Government; all which these Reverend Tutors pretend to teach for so much *per Annum*; this is the Quackery of it. The Profound Science consists in a nice Observation, that a Man of great Learning and Parts shall benefit more by Reading, than a Youth, or one of common Capacity. But it does not therefore follow, that one of common Capacity, or a Youth, shall get nothing by it. If only such Readers as those *Literati* pretend were qualify'd to read History, which is not one in Fifty Thousand, of what Use wou'd *Degory Wheare's* long List of Historians be? *Vossius* gives a very good Reason why others should apply themselves to the Reading of History, with Hopes of Benefit. For it is very well known, says he, that Languages may be very well learned without Grammar Rules, and there is no Science subsisting, which was not in Being before the Rules for it were form'd. Contrary to which, *Keckerman* and *Wheare* aver, that though Languages may be learn'd without Rules and Precepts, yet it is impossible to adorn Speech, and make an Oration with-

without them. Consequently, to understand and improve by History: For if it has not what Consequence, it has none. And indeed it is shamefully false in History, as well as Argument. Where were the Grammar Rules when I will not say *Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, &c.* wrote, but when *Homer, Hesiod, Tyrtæus, &c.* Five Hundred Years after? — There would be no End of it, if one shou'd go about to extend this Argument farther, and into other Sciences. Do not Grammar, Rhetorick, and even Logic, naturally exist now in the Speeches and Arguments of Persons, who know nothing of Precepts and Rules which were invented for the Ease and Perfection of Science? These Men might as well tell us that no Man can learn Navigation, who is not Master of every Branch of the Mathematicks. This Digression has, I am afraid, surfeited the Reader with *Degory Wheare*, so I shall soon dispatch him.

His tedious Method for a short Way to know History, puts me in mind of a certain Curate, who lying under some Suspicion of Incontinence, had the ill Luck to pitch upon that edifying Text, *Consider your Ways, because the Days are evil.* His first Division was, *to consider what it is to consider;* and having subdivided it into many as considerable Articles, he was forc'd to leave his Parish by Conviction, before he came to *the Evil of the Days.*

In *Wheare*, we read what it is to read History in twice as many Pages as the Bishop of Meaux's *L'Histoire Universelle* contains, and are directed to at least 400 Historians; a Method which pins a Man down for Life, and would render him entirely useless to himself or the World. *Popeliniere*, a Frenchman, wrote a Book call'd, *L'Histoire des Histoires*; and by the Study of *Wheare* and him, the Reader may indeed know some thing

thing of Histories, but very little of History, and shall lose both his Time and Understanding.

Several Authors have begun the particular Histories of their own Countries with the General History of the World; and this, when it is clear as well as concise, is of good Use, and connects the Particular History with the General, otherwise 'tis like a huge Porch to a small Hovel. *Mariana's History of Spain* is exemplarily Methodical.

The fabulous History.

The History of Greece.

The Roman Empire.

The Republick of Carthage, the best of its Kind.

The Siege of Seguntia and Numantia.

Hannibal's passing the Alps.

The Succession of Roman Emperors.

The Birth of Christianity.

The Preaching of the Gospel.

The Conquest of the Arabians, &c.

The History of Spain.

Here's a Plan form'd as shou'd be always done in writing History, and pursu'd to the End with as much Disposition and Ordinance as in an Epic Poem. The Historian follows the same successive Facts, and the Course of Events, with the same Exactness as the Poet does the Series of Incidents; the latter to produce the like Profit by Fiction, as the former does by Truth; and both to regulate the Passions by Example.

I question whether any modern Historian ever thought of more than pleasing the Prince or Party for whom he wrote, or began his Work with any other View than his own Entertainment, and sometimes Profit. Those that are put upon it by the Gain, are the most useless and

worth-

worthless Writers, and the Histories they produce seldom survive them: It must be confess'd, they are commonly good enough for the Use they are put to, to while away idle Hours, and fill up the Vacancies of Life, instead of Cards or Sauntering.

Nothing in the World wou'd divert one more, than the Sight of the Plan on which the Writers of the Reign of Lewis XIV. founded their History. Three Poets were employ'd, *Pellisson*, *Racine*, and *Boileau*, who were to keep always in View the Sun, and the Immortal Man, the Device and Title of *Louis Le Grand*, to compliment him upon his Ingratitude and Treachery, with respect to the *Hugonots* his Subjects, his Acts of Fraud and Violence to the Princes of *Germany*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, the King of *Spain*, the Sovereign of the *Netherlands*, the States of *Holland*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Swiss Cantons*, &c. to set off his buying and surprizing Towns, and overturning Provinces in Time of profound Peace, as so many Victories worthy so many Roman Triumphs, and his Chambers of *Re-union* in his pretended *New Conquests*, as so many glorious Acquisitions to his Crown. With these Materials, and a Pension of 12000 Livres a Year apiece, besides other Appointments, they began the Work at the same Time that *Vittorio Siri* was hiring himself out as a History Writer to the highest Bidder, which made his Countrymen the *Italians* say of him, *Non da Istoria ma da Salario*; not according to the History, but the Salary. How were these French Historians able to go on with their Plan after the Battels of *Hochstet*, *Turin*, *Ramellies*, &c? After the French were driven out of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*; after the King trembled at *Versailles* for his Person, and talk'd of removing his Court farther?

This

This Digression upon the History of *Lewis XIV.* is not so very foreign to my Purpose as may be at first imagin'd, and as will appear when we come to speak of our late Historians in *England*.

When I began these Reflections, it was with a Design to promote the reading of History among *Englishmen*; and to put such as never thought of it before, in the way to receive Instruction by it. The Advantage which will arise to an *Englishman* by reading general History, will be by comparing the Happiness of our Constitution with the Misery of those of other Nations. This will make him still more in Love with *Liberty*, and more tenacious in preserving it. He will learn by the Madness and Folly of other People, to avoid whatever tends to its Destruction; and have an Eye on those in whose Power it is to betray it, as has been done in our own Times in *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

France was once as happy as we are, if *Mezeray*, one of the best Historians among the Moderns, knew the History of his own Country.

Mr. *John Hampden*, Father of Mr. *Hampden*, an eminent Member of Parliament, now living, being in *France*, became acquainted with Monsieur *de Mezeray*, and said of him, that he was very ill us'd by the Ministry there, for his great Worth and Merit. Mr. *Hampden* discoursing with him about the Difference of the Government in *France* and *England*, *Mezeray* broke out into this Expression: *O fortunatos vnum bonam si suam norint, Angligenas.* "We had once in *France*,
 "contin'd he, the same Happiness and the same
 "Privileges as you have; our Laws were made
 "by Representatives of our own chusing; our
 "Money was not taken from us but by our own
 "Consent; our Kings were subject to the Rules
 "of

“ of Law and Reason: But now alas! we are
“ miserable, and all is lost. Think nothing, Sir,
“ too dear to maintain these precious Advan-
“ tages; and if ever there be Occasion, venture
“ your Life, your Estate, and all you have, ra-
“ ther than submit to the miserable Condition to
“ which you see us reduc’d”. *These Words of*
his, says Mr. Hampden, with what I saw of the
Misery of that Country, made an Impression on me,
which nothing can efface.

Mezeray has here, from that Gentleman’s In-
formation, given us a slight Sketch of our Go-
vernment: Our Laws are made in Parliament,
our Money given only by our Representatives,
our Kings are subject to those Laws. If they are
broken, and the Constitution subverted, we, as
the French Historian advis’d Mr. Hampden, ought
to venture our Lives, Estates, and all we have,
rather than submit to the Slavery to which *Lewis*
XIV. reduc’d his wretched Subjects.

Whenever the *English* Reader hears contrary
Doctrine in the Pulpit, or reads it in Speeches,
Addresses, &c. he will immediately put a Mark
on the Broachers of it, as Traytors to the Laws
and Liberties of *England*. When your *Sibthorps*
shall assert in their Sermons, That the King may
impose Taxes without Consent of Parliament;
when your *Manwarings* add to this, That Loans
and Taxes impos’d by the King without such Con-
sent, oblige the Subjects Consciences upon Pain
of Eternal Damnation; he will abhor such Te-
nets, and such Preachers, as base and mercenary,
Flatterers. If another *Oxford* Decree, like that
of 1683. should declare, That the asserting Re-
sistance in Cases of extreme Necessity, is false, se-
ditionous, heretical, and blasphemous; and that Pas-
sive Obedience is as much an Article of our Reli-
gion, as the *Apostles* Creed; he will know by Hi-
story,

story, that such Assertions are equally false, wicked, and dangerous; and detest the Authors of them, as Enemies to the Commonwealth. Of this we shall say more, when we treat of the History of *England* in particular.

I shall not fall into the Vice I have censur'd in others, and load the Reader with a greater Burthen than is necessary. *Hawell's History*, as far as he goes, will serve for all the Nations of *Europe*. But if his Curiosity is of greater Extent than general History; and he wou'd enter into the particular Histories of every Kingdom and State, let him for *France* go through *Mexaray*; for *Spain*, through *Mariotta*; for *Holland*, let him read *Hugo Grotius*. *Buchanan* and *Sir Richard Cox* will serve him for *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And if he will launch still farther into the boundless Ocean of History, let him have recourse to *Degory Wheare*, with *Dodwell's Preface*, which is however a very mean Performance, *Wheare* being his best Pilot for so long a Voyage. Especially if he will take the Pains to correct and improve him by the Learned Bishop *Nicholson's English, Scots, and Irish Historical Libraries*.

Something must now be said of *Chronology* and *Geography*, which, as *Mr. Locke* says, are absolutely necessary to the reading of History; and I am satisfy'd, no *Englishman* will need any other *Chronology* than *Mr. Tallent's*, whose Tables are the most extensive, as well as exact; nor any other *Geography* than *Atlas Geographus*, which, tho' collected with little Judgement, and written with great Poverty of Style, yet having in it a Collection of all *Geographers*, ancient and modern, the Reader in those Tables, and Three or Four Volumes of the *Atlas*, will have as full a *Chronology* and Description of the World, as is requisite for him; and perhaps conceive a better

ten Idea of both, than if he turn'd over whatever has been publish'd in all Languages, upon those Subjects.

CHAP. III.

Of the History of the Britains.

THE best Historians that ever wrote, have their *Fable* to introduce them. The Noble Critick *Varro* observes, there are Two Periods of *History* before we come to that which is reckon'd truly *Historical*.

The First is the *Obscure Period* from the Creation of the World to the *Deluge*, *Noah's* or *Ogyges's*. For 'tis certain, the Heathens had a Notion of the *Universal Deluge*; which the *Chinese* so particularly remember in their *Histories*, that among the great Actions of their mighty Emperor *Tu*, they mention his draining the Waters of the *Deluge* for 5 or 600 Miles together, 200 Years after the Flood. See *Pera Magailan's History of China*.

The next Period is the *mystick* or fabulous History, which is met with only in the ancient Poets; and tho' I cannot go so far as *Dejory* *Whears* to call *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, *Ovid's Chronicle*, Sect. 11. yet no doubt there is much Truth mingled with Fiction in the Accounts of the *Trojan War*, the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, the Stories of *Perseus*, *Oedipus*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, &c. This Period lasts to the Beginning of the *Olympiads*, 400 Years after the taking of *Troy*, *Anno Mundi* 3174. And from the *Olympiads* the

Anci-

Ancients began to speak of *History* with more Probability, tho' not without supposing a great Mixture of Fable.

An. Mun.
1900.

Our Obscure History begins with *Samothres*; from him it is continued to *Albion*; and from him to *Phrynicus*, when *Brutus*, Grandson of *Aeneas* is suppos'd to enter this Island. This obscure Period takes up almost 1000 Years; and the Succession of Kings is by *Sammes* mark'd as exactly as if it had been *Apostolical*; tho' not one Word of it is truer than the Fables of *Æsop*.

With the Story of *Brutus* commences our *Fable* about 120 Years after the taking of *Troy*, and 300 Years before the first *Olympiad*, at a Time when all the Histories of the World were fabulous; and 'tis no Disgrace to *Great Britain*, that her Story is no better known than was that of *Greece*; for a long Time after *Varro's* Historical Period, the Fable continu'd to make the greatest Part of History. There was no Certainty even in the *Olympiads*. *Plutarch* in *Homer's* Life begins them 100 Years after *Troy*; and in his Lives of *Numa*, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, tells us the Differences about them are irreconcilable. *Pausanias* says the same. *Thucydides* would not use them; and *Plato* makes a Jest of *Hippias*, who first counted by them; which I take Notice of, to shew, that the rest of the World is little better provided than *Great Britain* with respect to History, from the pretended Entrance of *Brute*, A. M. 2887, to about the Year 3240, at which Time *Herodotus*, the Father of History, began his own. All Nations were till then in the Dark, and can no more depend upon their Historians, than we can on our *Nennius*, or *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*. To this we may add, in Favour of *Jeffrey*, that Foreigners themselves have confirm'd his Story, and founded their Antiquity upon it, as a surer Foundation

2887.

dation than their own. *Du Verdier Historiographe du Roy*, in his *Voyage de France*, written about 80 Years ago, informs us, that the City of *Tours* was built by *Turinus*, one of *Brutus's* Followers, in his Expedition to *Britain*.

The Historians, in the barbarous Ages, were all fond of deriving their Origin from some Hero or Heroine, who gave his or her Name to the Country. Thus from *Brute* comes *Britain*; *France* from *Francus*, Son of *Hector*; *Scotland* from *Scota*, *Pharoah's* Daughter; *Denmark* from *Dan*; *Norway* from one *Noras*. All which betray the Imposture even in the very Name.

Tho' we doubt not the whole Story of *Brute*, and his Posterity, is invented; yet, as in all good Fables there is a Moral, so in this the Events are as much Lessons as if they were true. What is said to have been done, if good, ought to have been done, or if bad, ought not to have been done; and on the contrary, what is bad, to be avoided.

We may there see what Notions the ancient *Britains* had of the Rights of Prince and People, by the Actions which are attributed to them. *Loocrine*, Son of *Brute*, meets with so great Resistance from the *Cornish* Men, that he is vanquish'd and slain by them, for intending to set aside his Son *Madan*, whose Son *Mempricius* was depos'd by his Brother *Mamilius*. *Ferrex*, the Elder Brother is forc'd to give way to *Porrex*, the Younger; which, says *Sammes*, is the Third Time that the Kingdom fell not to the Elder. This was about the Year 3420.

Two Hundred and Sixty Years after, *Archigallo* was set aside for his Male Administration, much like that of King *James* the II^d. For, in the Words of my Authority he endeavour'd to depress the Nobility, by depriving them of all Power; to which Purpose he contrived Plots, and then discover'd them;

An. Mun.
3688.

3897.

“having his Engines secretly employ’d, who at
 “any Time would accuse whom they pleas’d of
 “Disaffection to the present Government. Ma-
 “ny other Things he committed, as the advan-
 “cing unworthy Persons to Dignities and Offi-
 “ces, and the spoiling and robbing his richest
 “Subjects. For all which he was depos’d, as
 “was *Elidurus*, his Successor and Brother. *Eme-
 rianus*, Son of *Archigallo*, governing, says *Sam-
 mes*, according to Will and Pleasure, and not ac-
 cording to Law, was laid aside. So were *Andro-
 geus* and *Theomantius*, Sons of *Lud*, and Nephews
 to *Cassibelan*, who reign’d when *Julius Cæsar* in-
 vaded this Island, A. M. 3897.

How the Divine Right of Succession obtain’d
 at this Time, one can hardly determine, or so
 much as whether the Monarchies of Britain were
Elective or *Hereditary*. Kent alone had Four
 Kings, whose Names are remember’d by *Cæsar*,
 tho’ *Cassibelan* was superior to them, at least du-
 ring the War with the Romans.

The Britains set aside *Androgeus*, purely on ac-
 count of his being in the Interest of the Inva-
 ders. But to leave the History of such dark
 Times, let us come to the last King of Britain
 before the Saxon Invasion, *Vortigern*. Was he not
 depos’d by his Subjects for Male-Administration,
 and his Son *Vortimer* put in his Place? And what
 Blame could be laid to his Charge, says *Sammes*,
 for accepting the Crown? The Truth is, the Form
 of the British Government was in a great Mea-
 sure Democratical, as *Xiphilin* observes out of
Dio Cassius, in his Life of *Severus*.

An. Dom.
465.

Vortigern outliv’d his Son, and recover’d the
 Kingdom, but was not at all mended by his Pu-
 nishment: So the Britains held a *Concilium*, A. D.
 465, and he was again depos’d, to make way for
 the brave *Aurelius Ambrosius*. *Matt. Westm.* says,
 Con-

Convenerunt Britones undique dispersi, & convocato Regni Clero, Aurelium in Regem erexerunt. The Clergy gave their Votes in this Council; and the Body of them were generally in the publick Interest, till Riches and Power corrupted them, and made them set up an Interest of their own, separate from that of the Publick.

Mr. Echard takes not the least Notice of the deposing of *Vortigern*: The Parliamentary Right has been too much vilify'd by Men of a certain Profession, for him to speak in Confirmation of it: So he flurs over that solemn Act, and says, *Vortimer, a Brave and Valiant Prince, undertook to fight for his Country.*

The Reader will do well to begin with *Tyrrel's* Preface to his First Volume. That Gentleman was at great Expence of Time and Money to collect Materials for his Design; and there's Matter enough, were it digested as it might be. He understood our History and Constitution perfectly well; as a Man of Learning and Honour; and his Preface will prepare the *English* Reader to receive Instruction, as well as Pleasure by our History.

I might recommend to him a great Number of Authors for this Period, but these few will be sufficient.

Tyrrel's Preface and History.

Cambden's Introduction to his Britannia.

Sammes's Britannia.

C H A P. IV.

Of the History of the Saxons in Britain.

BEFORE the *English* Reader proceeds farther, let him enquire into the Origin of the *Saxons*, who possess'd themselves of the Dominion of this Island from *Edinburgh* to the Land's End in *Cornwall*. He will be fully inform'd of their Religion, Manners, and Government, in *Speed* and *Howell*; and afterwards with greater Pleasure see the Progress they made in acquiring that Dominion first in the *Saxon Hierarchy*, and then in the *English Monarchy*. *Tacitus* gives us some Light as to the Nature of the *Saxon Government*, speaking thus of the *Germans*, of whom the *Saxons* were a Part. *De minoribus rebus Principes consultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen ut ea quoque quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud Principes prætractentur. Res minores exponunt causas privatas & ad forum pertinentes, majores publicas. In celebrandis hisce Conciliis, &c.* *Tacitus* names the very Term *Councils*, as the *Saxon Writers* do; which the *Normans* chang'd for a Term of their own, that of *Parliament*. I leave Six of the Seven Kingdoms founded by the *Saxons*, to the Reader's own Enquiry, and take a short View of the *West Saxon Kingdom*, which in Time swallowed up all the rest.

590. About Eighty Years after the founding of that Monarchy, *Ceaulin* descended from the Founder *Cerdick*, was, for many Enormities, driven out of his Kingdom; and though he left Two Grandchildren by his Son *Cuthwin*, yet his Nephew *Cearlick* was advanc'd to the Throne.

Seve-

Several other Interruptions happen'd in the Lineal Succession, before the Reign of King Egbert. As that of Sigebert, a Prince of much the same Make with another, whose Quarrel has been so strenuously espous'd by the inferior Clergy and their Admirers in our own Times. "He was, says *Sammes*, an insolent Tyrant at Home, bold and daring in Wickedness; but in the Field soft and cowardly: Advised of his Mis-carriages by *Cumbra*, one of his chief Captains and best Counsellors, in Recompence for his good Will, he barbarously slew him; but was not long after driven out of his Kingdom by Consent of the People and Nobility".

Henry of Huntington tells us, That *Sigebert*, for his Pride and Wickedness, was depos'd, and *Kinewulf* elected by a Convention. *Congregati sunt Proceres, & Populus totius Regni, & Provida Deliberatione & unanimi Consensu omnium expulsus est e Regno: Kinewelfe vero juvenis egregius de Regia stirpe oriundus, electus est in Regem.*

So full is the *Saxon* History of Instances of such Interruptions, that the *English* Reader must be wonderfully surpriz'd to find either Preachers or Writers against the Doctrine of the Revolution; yet often do they assert the most daring Falshoods, in Opposition to the most plain and frequent Facts.

The *Saxon* Annals, *A. D.* 925, tell us, *Atthelstan* was electus in Regem & apud *Cingestine* consecratus. The same Term, *Electus*, is often us'd in the Succession at that Time, tho' particular Regard was had to the Line. *Mr. Echard*, speaking of *Atthelstan*, endeavours to invalidate this Claim, by telling us, His Father design'd him his Successor by his last Will, notwithstanding his Illegitimacy.

C 3 Tyrrel,

960.

Tyrrel, in the Preface before-mention'd, when he comes to the Reign of King *Edgar*, has these Words: *There being not above Two Kings in all this long Series of more than 260 Years, concerning whom I have not brought express Testimonies from Authors of undoubted Credit, both in Print and Manuscripts, of this Election by the States of the Kingdom.* Mr. *Eckard* sinks all the Alterations which had happen'd in the *Lineal Succession*, either in the *Saxon Heptarchy*, or *English Monarchy*; a most ungrateful Subject. The honest *English* Reader has the greater Loss in this; because these Alterations are so frequent, and so consequently is the Instruction he wou'd get by it to confirm him in his *English* Principles, which is worth all the rest of our Ecclesiastical or Civil History.

Nor was it thus in *England* only: He will find the same Revolutions in the Histories of *France* and *Spain*. *Childeric* was depos'd by the Assembly of the States in *France*, and *Pepin* elected. *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* was set aside, and *Hugh Capet* chosen. Don *Pedro*, King of *Castile*, notwithstanding the generous Assistance which the *Black Prince* gave him, was forced to yield the Throne to his Bastard Brother. The same Fate befel *Alphonso*, King of *Portugal*. *Christiern*, King of *Denmark*, for Tyranny, and *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, for Bigottry, lost the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. *Buchanan's* History of *Scotland* is more nearly related to us; and the Reader will meet with a Cloud of Witnesses in a multitude of Instances, to prove that the *Lineal Succession* does not justify Right, where the Laws and Liberties of the People are invaded, and endeavour'd to be subverted; that is, in Case of extreme Necessity; and then Nature will surely rebel against Principle for Self-Preservation, if there can

can be any Principle founded in Treachery and Cruelty.

Indeed it cannot be deny'd but the *Gothick* Governments were all Free, and that their Kings were bound to govern according to their Laws. Most of the *European* Nations, as well as the *French*, were once Masters of the same Freedom we enjoy. The great Swarms of People that came out of the *North*, over-ran the *Roman* Empire, and settled themselves in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *France*, and *England*, and made their Generals their Kings, and their Chief Officers their *Concilia Magna*, or Parliaments, without whose Consent no Laws were Enacted, or scarce any Thing of Importance done. And we find both by *Bede* and *Verstegan*, that the *Saxon* Government was rather *Aristocratical* than *Monarchical*. 'Tis true, their Chief Governors were call'd *Konings*, Kings, and the very Term shews they were prefer'd for their Wisdom, *Koning* signifying wise, and having no manner of Relation to Primogeniture.

Mr. *Tynrel* gives us the Form of the *West Saxon* Kings Oath, and the Contents of the *Original Contract* between them and their Subjects. They would maintain the *Holy Christian Faith*, with all their Power, and govern according to Right, without regard to any Person, and would be liable to suffer Right, i. e. Judgment, as well as others of their People.

No Nation has preserv'd their *Gothick* Constitution better than the *English*, who cannot consider the Happiness they enjoy, in Comparison with those that have lost it, without having a just Veneration for the Memory of their noble Ancestors, who at the Expence of their best Blood, have secur'd to them such valuable Rights: And though for Four Reigns together, bold Attempts

were made by Court and Church Flatterers and Creatures to destroy them, and root out the generous Spirit which had hitherto been their Guard, yet our Age was not so degenerated, but the same Zeal appear'd at the Revolution, to transmit them to Posterity.

Some of the Disaffected, who have a little more Honesty and Knowledge than the rest, will grant that the *Gothick* Monarchies were of the Kind we speak of; but then their Model of Government was not the same as now by King, Lords, and Commons, and of Consequence the *Parliament* hold their Immunities of the Crown only. I shall therefore endeavour to prove, that our Parliamentary Constitution is as old as the *Saxons*, and much the same at present. The honest *English* Reader will often meet with the like Assemblies, in the Period between the *Saxon* and *Norman* Invasions, though under the Names of *Wittenagemots*, *Mychelgemots*, *Conciltums*, *Colloquiums*, &c. and even the very Word *Parliament*, is us'd by *John Brompton*, Abbot of *Jorval*, whose *Chronicle* ends Fifty Years before the 49th of *Henry the III*d, till when *Brady* assures us, there was no such Thing as a Parliament in *England*.

The Reader will with great Satisfaction observe, in *Mr. Pettit's Rights of the Commons*, and *Mr. Tyrrel's* Learned and useful Preface, that *Brady* had bury'd himself in the musty Records of the *Tower*, and other Depositories, to produce only a Quibble at last, that till then there had been no *Parliament*; whereas there had been a Hundred Assemblies of Kings, Lords, and Bishops, Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, before and after the Conquest, under the Names of *Meetings of the Wise Men*, *Meetings of the Great Men*, *Councils*, *Colloquies*, &c.

The *Mirror of Justice*, a famous Law Book, written in Edward the First's Time, Ten or Fifteen Years after Brady's pretended First Parliament, says, the *Mychelgemot* ought to meet Twice a Year. Now if their Being was of so late a Date as the 49th of Henry III. the Nation could not want Instruction in so little a Time, as to the Meetings of Parliament.

" 'Tis most manifest, says an Eminent Author, besides the positive Laws for Yearly Parliaments, *inter Leges Edgari, Cap. 5.* that by the ancient Constitution of our Government, they did meet of Course, at least Twice a Year. In the Reign of the Saxon Kings, it was made a perpetual Law, that a Parliament should be holden every Year once at London. And the same Law was incorporated into the Laws of Edward the Confessor.

The Estates of the Kingdom are thus describ'd in a good old Monkish Verse.

Praelati, Proceres, missisque Potentibus Urbes.
The Prelates, Peers, the Cities by their Powers.

If all this is not sufficient to satisfy the Reader concerning the Antiquity of Parliaments, the very Learned Sir Henry Spelman does it in direct Terms. *Wittenagemot idem apud Anglo-Saxones fuit, quod apud nos hodie Parliamentum.* The *Wittenagemot* was the same Thing among the Saxons, as the Parliament is now-a-Days with us.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Book *de Prærogativis Parliamentorum*, is of Opinion, there were no such Parliaments before Henry the First's Time; and that a Council call'd by him to raise Money, Anno Regni 17, was rather a Privy-Council than a Senate. But Spelman is against him, and says, they met *non consultare sed statuere.*

Dr.

Dr. Hody affirms, 'twas a *Parliament*, and that it did not meet in the 17th, but in the 10th Year of Henry the First, above One Hundred and Twenty Years before Brady's pretended Original of *Parliaments*.

Tyrrel mentions a Petition of the Borough of *Barnstable*, in the 17th of Edward the Third, to be restor'd to their Privileges, by Virtue of King *Atbelstan's* Charter, to send Members to Parliament. On the contrary, Mr. *Brown Willis* not only affirms that the Petition was to exonerate them of some Payments to their Lord, but gives a List of their Burgeses in Parliament, from the 23d of Edward the First, to the 17th of Edward the Third, and onward. However, tho' that Petition had no Reference to their Representatives, and may therefore be omitted, yet we shall find there's no want of Proof of such like Assemblies, in the earliest Times of the *Saxons*, with the like Immunities, as to the Legislative Power, as they are now in Possession of.

It has been said of Dr. Brady, that he read the Records, as Witches say their Prayers, Backwards. That he makes them speak the quite contrary to what was intended, as will sufficiently appear in Mr. *Petty's* above-mention'd Treatise, Mr. *Tyrrel's* Preface, and Dr. Hody of *Convocations and Councils*. Brady was a Laborious Cambridge Man, and those that had writ of the History and Constitution of *England*, had made it out plain, that the Three last Reigns after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, were both the most Inglorious and Illegal that had ever been in *England*, till the Fourth came.

Brady therefore had a Pension given him, to prove that the *English* Subjects were Slaves, till Henry the Third gave them a Parliament; and he confesses he was sorry they are not Slaves still;

Tyrrel's

Tyrrel's Preface. He had the keeping of the Tower Records, and became an unworthy Member of that House of Commons, whose Privileges he had so basely betray'd. But his Writings are already on the same Stalls with *Nalson's*, and incapable of doing the Mischief intended. I shall instance one Assertion of his, to excuse the Breach of Coronation Oaths. *Many Conquerors*, says he, *have broken their Oaths, and that without any Blame, provided they did not intend to keep them.* His History of England is the most tedious and trifling, the poorest in Style and Matter, of any I ever read; and his Treatise of *Burroughs* is as dry and barren: But his Pension bias'd him entirely on the Side of *Arbitrary Power*, and made him sacrifice whatever Knowledge he had scrap'd up, to the *Will and Pleasure* of the Prince. The Reader will see in Mr. *Echard's* Margins, what a Guide he has been to him.

Though I have said so much of the Antiquity of our Representatives, yet to satisfy the Reader's Impatience, 'till he can come at the Histories, I shall add a few Lines more on that Subject.

Bede says, the Laws of King *Ethelbert* were made *cum Concilio Sapientum*, which is a *Wittena-gemot*; and in another Place, that the King *Populum suum convocavit*. By the People there, to use Dr. *Hody's* Words, must be understood not the Commonalty, in Opposition to the Great Men, but all in general, who were to be conven'd, Lords and Commons.

The Laws of *Berkhamstead* pass, *cum viris utique Militaribus humanissime* & *communi omnium Assensu*.

King *Ina's* Laws were enacted, *Omnium Senatorum meorum Consensu*. And again, *per commune consilium* & *assensum* *Omnium Episcoporum* & *Principum*,

A. D.
570.

697.

712.

capum, Procerum, Comitum, & Omnium Sapientum Seniorum & POPULORUM totius Regni. King Ina's Parliament consisted of the Princes, Bishops, Nobles, Earls, Wisemen, Elders, and PEOPLE; *sufficit hoc, says Spelman, ad modum exprimendum Omnium Conciliorum Anglo-Saxonum.* This suffices to shew what all English Councils consisted of; to which may be added what they did: For they consented to all Laws, and without their Consent nothing Legislative was done.

1007.

In the Year 1007, King Ethelred and his Senate, *communi Deliberatione,* made Peace with the Danes, as we read in *Hody*; and sure that is one of the highest Acts of Government, and proves they were not such impotent Assemblies as *Brady*, and other Betrayers of their Rights and Privileges, pretend.

A. D.
1020.

The History of *Ely* tells us, *Canute* was made King *ab omni Anglorum Populo.* My Lord Chief Justice Coke gives a Description of the Parliament at Winchester, held by that King, about the Year 1020: *Archbishops, Bishops, Suffragans, Seven Dukes, Seven Earls, Abbots, a great Number of Knights, with a vast Multitude of the People, &c. Omnibus tunc in eodem Parlamento personaliter existentibus, votis Regis unanimiter consentientibus præceptum & decretum fuit.* This is taken out of a Manuscript once belonging to the Monastery of *Bury*; and because the Word *Parliament* is there us'd, Dr. *Hody* takes it to be a pure Fiction, but his Reason for it makes still against Dr. *Brady*. He says, the Author liv'd One Hundred and Thirty Years after, A. D. 1150. Therefore, allowing the Fiction against the Authority of Lord Coke, the Constitution; and the very Word *Parliament*, were well known in the Reign of King *Stephen*, when *Hody* will have it the Monks of *Bury* forg'd the above Quotation.

For

For this Period of *English History*, the Reader may make Use of

Tyrrel's Preface and History.

Speed.

Howell.

Milton.

C H A P. V.

Of the History of England, from William the Norman, to the End of Edward the Third's Reign.

ONE would think the Advocates for Arbitrary Government, had a fair Opportunity to begin their *Era* here, and found the Right of their Despotick Princes on Conquest, by the Advancement of *William the Bastard*, to the Throne of *England*. But the Clergy of those Times were too much concern'd in the Liberties and Properties of *Englismen*, to give them up so basely, as some of them have lately done in their Sermons and Histories. Particular Care was taken, after Duke *William* had routed King *Harold*, to quash all Pretensions to Conquest. 'Tis true, the *Normans* afterwards invaded our Laws, as well as our Country, but not with like Success; and the *English* Constitution was then preserv'd against *French* Arms, though it was never in so much Danger, except in the Reigns which immediately follow'd Queen *Elizabeth's*.

A. D.

1066.

Will. I.

Guti-

Gulielmus Gemmeticensis, who was contemporary with the Conqueror, tells us, he was ELECTED King *ab omnibus tam Normanorum, quam Anglorum. Gulielmus Pictaviensis, Ordericus Vitalis, &c.* who wrote at the same Time, speak of the same Thing; and he took an Oath at his Coronation, *Cunctum Populum sibi subiectum iuste & regali Providentiâ regere, rectam Legem statuere & tenere.*

In the Fourth Year of his Reign, the Laws of King Edward were confirm'd by him in Parliament. Mr. Selden uses the very Word on this Occasion, *Tit. Mon. p. 704.* But notwithstanding what the above-mention'd Authors, what *Rudbarn*, and almost all that wrote of these Times, say of King William's Election, Mr. Echard, who is very loth to recognize any such Title, says, 'tis very hard to determine it, and not very material. But we hope the honest English Reader will not think this Matter so difficult, nor so trifling as he makes it.

A. D.
1077.

In this Reign Hody speaks of a Parliament, Anno 1077, and of a Charter, in which were these Words, *Conventio Quorum videtur esse Parliamentum.* Brady, who owns he never saw this Charter, by Provinces would have Dioceses understood, lest the Antiquity of Shire-Knights should be demonstrated. He despises the Authority of William of Malmesbury, who wrote about Forty Years after, for the Account he gives of a Saxon Witenagemot, the same with Sir Henry Spelman's.

Will. II.
1087.

The next Reign is a great Invasion on the Lineal Succession. Robert, Duke of Normandy, eldest Son to the Conqueror, is laid aside; and William Rufus, his Second Son, ELECTED King, as Gervase of Tilbury informs us. Mr. Echard sinks this Election, and says slightly, He procur'd so great an Interest, that he was crown'd. To maintain himself in Possession, notwithstanding

ing Duke Robert's Hereditary Right, he call'd a Parliament, and among the rest, the *Anglos Naturales*; upon which *Hody* writes thus, "Whatsoever Dr. Brady says to the contrary, there is nothing more evident than that this Parliament, or Convention consisted chiefly of the natural English, and consequently of Persons under the Degree of Nobility; For as *Huntington* assures us, there was at that Time scarce any one of the English Nobility remaining; and the *Waverly Annals* say expressly, that the Persons conven'd on that Occasion, were the *Populus Anglorum*."

The next Reign is another Breach in Heirship to the Crown; for Duke Robert is again set aside, and his younger Brother Henry made King *Populo Uniuerso*, as *Matt. Paris* expresses it. Some Authors pretend that the first Parliament, consisting of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, was held at *Salisbury*, in King Henry the First's Reign, Anno 1116. In a Manuscript in the Cotton Library, it is said, the King call'd a Council of all the States of this Realm, both of the Prelates, Nobility and Commonalty, and no matter whether 'tis term'd a Council or a Parliament. The Convention of the States is in Poland a Diet, in Sweden a Senate, in Holland an Assembly, in Spain a Cortes, in England a Parliament; which latter, One Hundred and Fifty Years before Brady's Parliamentary Era, now met at *Salisbury*. *William of Malmesbury*, then living, says, *Omnes Liberi Homines Angliæ & Normanniæ cujuscunque Ordinis & Dignitatis cujuscunque Domini Fideles*. It must be observ'd, that when we meet with the Terms, the People of England, the People in general, the People of all England, and the like, their Representatives must be understood, or their assembling would be impracticable.

A. D.
1100.
Henry I.

1116.

A. D.
1135.

King Stephen.

A. D.
1154.
Henry II.

The Fourth Reign after the Conquest, makes no more for the Lineal Succession, than the other Three. *Maud* the Empress, Daughter of *Henry* the First, was the Heir of the *Saxon* and *Norman* Lines, and a Parliament had sworn Fealty to her: However, as *Stephen*, Earl of *Blois*, expresses it in his Charter of Privileges, he was chosen King of *England*, *Assensu Cleri & Populi*. But at his Death, *Henry* the Second, Son of *Maud*, succeeded, *a Principibus Angliæ vocatus, & a Populo desideratus*, says *Gervase* of *Tilbury*. His Right had been recogniz'd in a Parliament held at *Oxford* in King *Stephen*'s Time, though his Mother was still Living, and liv'd Twelve Years after he came to the Crown, having the Hereditary Right in her self. Thus we are come One Hundred Years from the *Norman* Invasion, and have not one King by Lineal Descent. In King *Henry* the Second's Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Northampton*, consisting, as *Gervase* assures us, of *Bishops*, *Nobles*, *Abbots*, and Persons of an inferior Degree. At the famous Parliament of *Clarendon*, were present, according to *Matt. Paris*, *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Earls*, *Barons*, and Chief Men of the Commons, *Proceres Regni*, by which we must understand the Chief of the Commonalty, since the *Earls* and *Barons* were at that Time the whole Nobility, and are particularly mention'd. *Brady* knew all this full well, but he was hir'd to weaken the Authority of the Legislature, and sinn'd against Knowledge and Conscience.

What they call the *Church History* of these Times, with respect to *England*, as well as other Parts of *Christendom*, are only Instances of the Pride, Insolence, Cruelty and Avarice of the *Romish* Priests; and the like Instances are not to be met with in *Pagan* Darknes and Idolatry.

The

The Church, as Heylin, Wharton, Collier, &c. will needs term it, that is, the Prelates, Abbots, Priors, &c. made a most glaring Figure. Dr. Hody, a learned, honest, well-meaning Man, can't help taking Pleasure in telling us, not only how they were endow'd, but how they were dress'd in *Scarlet, White Linnen, and Furr*. They had a great Part of the Lands of *England*. They were Consecrated and Enthron'd. They manag'd the Kings almost as they pleas'd, and at every Accession to the Crown, made them swear to stand by them in all their Pretences; and they stood by the Kings no longer than they did so.

The Clergy in Henry the First's Time, swore Fealty very solemnly to his Daughter *Maud*. However, *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the first Man who had sworn to her, crown'd King *Stephen*; and he and his Brethren swore again to that Prince, for whom they made a Coronation Oath, the Two first Articles of which related only to themselves.

The Sixth Reign after the Conquest, that of *Richard* the First, begins the Succession of *Primogeniture*, 123 Years from the Death of King *Harold*; in all which Time *Jure Divino*, as lately preach'd up, did not once take Effect. The Monarchy of *England* is *Hereditary* without all Doubt; and its *Right Divine*, unless in such Cases as the *Revolution*, where it is inconsistent with the Safety of the People, for which all Government was form'd. We have often made use of the Word *Populus*, in mentioning *Councils*, *Colloquies* and *Parliaments*, before and since the *Norman* Invasion. And lest it should be objected that *Populus*, the People, could not assist at those Assemblies, we must understand, as has been hinted, by *Populus*, the Representative of the People, whom *Brady* falsely affirms not to have been re-

A. D.
1189.
Rich. I.

presented till Fourſcore Years after even this Time. 'Tis ſaid by *Matt. Paris*, that when King *Richard* was Crown'd, there ſat at the Table with him, the Archbishops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, *cum Clero & Populo*, with the Clergy and People; where one can't ſuppoſe the whole Body of the People are underſtood, but a Part of them. The *Knights* are particularly mention'd in the Parliament, *Anno Dom. 1197.*

1197.

John.

King *John*, Brother to *Richard* the Firſt, excluded *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, Son of his elder Brother *Jeffry*; and *Matt. Paris* tells us, the Convention choſe, and took him for their King. In one of his Charters he declares he came to the Crown, *tam Cleri quam Populi unanimi Conſenſu & Favore*. In the Year 1200, this King held a famous Parliament at *Lincoln*, where *William*, King of *Scotland*, did him Homage, in ſight of all the People, *conſpectu omnis Populi, & coram Magnatibus Regni*. Here *Brady* is put hard to his Shifts, but reſolves to ſtand out Threſcore Years longer, and never own the Authority of Parliament, 'till he's forc'd to it: Upon which *Hody* writes thus:

1199.

1200.

“ Dr. *Brady* is not willing to own this to be a
 “ Parliament, becauſe, as he ſays, we find no
 “ Summons to it. But by his Favour, *Brompton*
 “ calls it expreſſly a Parliament, and mentions its
 “ being ſummon'd. *Apud Lincolniam Omnes Angliæ Proceres & Potentes intererant. Nam Rex Johannes de Normaniâ in Angliam reverſus*
 “ PARLIAMENTUM ſuum uſque *Lincolniam*
 “ CONVOCaverat; ſo the Annals of *Margan*.

Mr. *Echard* ſeems as unwilling to own it as Dr. *Brady*, for he does not ſay a word of this Parliament. In the Sixth Year of this Reign, *Hody* ſays 'tis certain the Commons of England voted

in

in that Assembly. King *John* was of a most unequal unsettled Temper. Brave in his Person, and generous to Profusion. He indulg'd himself too much in his Gallantries, but not so enormously as King *Charles* the Second, who had, however, the Appellation of *most Sacred*, and the *Breath of our Nostrils*, in the Pulpit and out of it. He was no more a Bigot than that King, but then he did not compliment the Clergy so much, nor make them his Tools to justify his unwarrantable Schemes by the Extent of the Sovereign Power. He, on the other Hand, was rougher in his Conduct towards them, than any of his Predecessors durst be, which is the Occasion of the foul Character given him by the Monks, the Historians of those Times; and Mr. *Echard* has not taken the least Pains to cleanse this Part of History from the Filth with which their Resentments have defil'd it. He acknowledges, "The Archbishop of
" *Canterbury* endeavour'd to outvie with his Sovereign in Magnificence. His Palace for Splendor, Attendants, and Entertainments, exceeded
" that of some Princes; and the King coming to
" *Canterbury*, he thought it a proper Time to manifest his great State, and small Regard to the
" King's Favour, by equalling his own sumptuous
" Preparations, with his rich Habits, and magnificent Gifts. Here the *English* Reader will conceive a just Indignation against the Insolence and Pride of this Rich and Arrogant Priest. He will not see in this Picture, the least Traces of his Religion and Function, and will be disgusted at the secret Pleasure Men of the same Profession take in such pompous Descriptions: "The King,
" continues the Author, concluded the Archbishop
" had too much Riches, and too little Discretion.
" on. He concluded very justly, and had good Reason to resent his indecent Behaviour. But
D 2 be

because this began the Contest between him and the Clergy: He adds, "The Lay Peers made the Flame fiercer, and misliking either his Title or his Temper. Here's a Fling at the *Parliamentary Right*, for which the Historian goes out of his way, the *Lay Peers* not shewing the least Dislike to his Title. He had not been King long, and they themselves gave him his Title when they elected him. Indeed, he afterwards lost their good Opinion, by his various Conduct. They then laid every Thing to his Charge, and every one that was displeas'd with him, fell a pitying Duke *Arthur*, and crying up his *Right*; yet in all their Declarations after the Rupture, 'twas the Breach of his Charters and the Laws, which they urg'd as the Cause of their taking Arms. This was the first Civil War between the King and his Subjects, on that Account. King *John* had made an infamous Treaty with the Pope, by which he was to hold his Kingdom of him. And Bishop *Godwin* says, "He bare himself so bold upon the Pope's Favour, which he had bought dearly, as he doubted not to oppress divers of his Nobility with many and continual Wrongs, revoking former Grants of Privileges at his Pleasure; upon this Point, that he receiv'd his Kingdom from the Pope absolutely. *Stephen Langton* had been made Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the Pope, in Opposition to the King, who carry'd Matters in the Quarrel as far as an *Interdict*. But though *Langton* ow'd so much to the Pope, yet such was his Hatred to his natural Sovereign, that he himself instigated the Barons to this War, by telling them in a *Parliament* at *London*, Mr. *Richard* calls it so now, Fifty Years before *Brady's* *Era*, that he had found a Charter of King *Henry the Second's*, by which, if they thought fit, they might assert their ancient Liberties; and accordingly

ingly he produced his Charter, and they swore in his Presence to contend for those Liberties even to Death. Thus stood the State of Resistance, as well as Lineal Succession, 500 Years ago. And how must it provoke the honest English Reader, to hear it affirm'd in Sermons, Decrees, &c. that the Doctrine of Resistance, in any Case whatsoever, is unknown in our Religion or History, and merits eternal Damnation? The History of the Barons Wars in this Reign, will afford no great Instruction to the English Reader. The Barons were at first oppress'd, but, as Mr. Echard says, the King began the War under the Wings of the Pope. The Barons render'd themselves highly Criminal, in giving themselves and the Kingdom up to a French Prince, Lewis the Dauphin, who in his Declaration laid his Claim to the Crown by Virtue of the Election of the Nobility. What Good may be expected from a French Prince, or a Prince of French Education, we may learn from the last Words of the Viscount de Melun, who on his Death-bed confess'd, "That Prince Lewis, with Sixteen Barls and Barons of France, had sworn, that when he had subdu'd England, he would for ever banish all those that fought against King John, as Traytors, notwithstanding he had solemnly sworn to restore all good Laws, and the lost Inheritances of the Nobility."

In the Year 1215, a Parliament was holden at Winchester, where were then gather'd together Comites, Barones, Milites, & Libere tenentes, Freeholders, as is said in the MS. Enlogium, and also a MS. History mention'd by Dr. Hoby. This was Fifty Years before Brady allows any such Representative.

The next King, Henry III. when he came to the Crown, wanted the Right of Heirship: For

A. D.
1215.

1216.

Henry III

tho' he was King *John's* Eldest Son, yet the Princess *Elinor*, Sister to the Duke of *Bretagne*, was still alive. In his Second Year, *Magna Charta* was confirm'd, as is mention'd in the MS. *Eulogium*, *Non prætereundum est PARLIAMENTUM Londinienſe ſecundo Regis Anno, in quo confirmata eſt Carta Patris ſui.* This is almoſt 50 Years before, as *Brady* aſſerts, the Word *Parliament* was made Uſe of. In the Writ of Summons for the *Oxford* Parliament about this Time, the ſeveral *Shires* are directed to chuſe four *diſcretos Milites*, diſcreet Knights for every County.

No body ever pretended, that the Form of Parliaments was in old Times exactly the ſame as it is now. It is well enough known, that the Upper and Lower States made but one Houſe. That *Peerskip* was not always *Hereditary*, and that the ſame *Boroughs* were not always repreſented. But the Main of the Matter, the Meeting of the Eſtates, their enquiring into Grievances, their giving of Money, and exerciſing *Legiſlative* Authority, is as old as the *Gothick* Government. This is all that's contended for, or that is neceſſary in the Queſtion; and *Brady* to deſtroy it entirely, not only aſſirms falſly, there were no ſuch Aſſemblies till almoſt the Fourteenth Century; but after he owns there were ſuch, he makes their Rights and Privileges to be holden of the King at Pleaſure, and extorted by *Rebellion* in the 49th Year of this Reign. The contrary of all which we have ſufficiently prov'd.

We will now enquire a little into this pretended *Rebellion*; a Term *Brady* and his Followers are extremely fond of. I know not if the Earl of *Clarendon* did call his Hiſtory that of the *Rebellion* himſelf, or whether it was ſo entitl'd by the *Chriſt-Church* Men; there being more in it of

the Spirit and Manners of Collegiates, than of a Man of Quality.

In King Henry the III^d's Coronation Oath, besides his swearing in the first Place, of which Care was always taken, to pay *Reverence to the Holy Church, and all its Clerks, all the Days of his Life*; *Echard's Words*; he swore he would *administer all true Justice, abolish all bad Laws and ill Customs, and cause such to be observ'd as were good*. His Affairs were in no flourishing Condition: But the Earl *Marshal*, a Man of great Courage, Honour, and Abilities, being appointed Regent, the Barons fell off from the *Dauphin*, and he was oblig'd to quit the Kingdom. The Earl *Marshal* dying in Three or Four Years Time, the Bishop of *Winchester* was made Protector: And as 'tis very seldom *Temporals* succeed well in the Hands of *Ecclesiasticks*, who indeed have nothing at all to do with them, we presently meet with Disturbances.

The first Thing the King was put upon that bred ill Blood, was a *Resumption* of those Lands, which had been granted to his best and greatest Friends for their good Services. Such *Resumptions* are always grateful to those that were neglected in the Grants, and sometimes promoted with too much Precipitation. Some Barons disputing the *Resumption*, they were immediately threaten'd with the *Fulminations* of the Church. And here began the Quarrel, as Mr. *Echard* confesses. The King at once declared all the Charters of Confirmation of Liberties in his Reign void, for that He confirm'd them in his Minority. What a deplorable Case must the Subjects of a Monarchy be in, from the first Year of a Minor's Age and Reign to the 14th, 16th, or 21st, if all that was done in so many Years was vacated by his Majority? The Religious Orders were

oblig'd to renew their Charters at a Price ; and thus, says our Historian, *the whole Nation paid for the King's changing his Ministry.* Mr. Echard's Book came out before the Duke of Marlborough, Earl of Godolphin, &c. were remov'd from the Ministry in the last Reign ; and it is a melancholy Reflection for Historians, who mean well to the Publick, to see what little Effect Example has, when encounter'd by the Passions and Lusts of crafty and wicked Men. King Henry's own Brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, was threaten'd to be banish'd for a Dispute in Law with a Creature of the Court ; but he said he would not leave the Kingdom, *sine Judicio Parium suorum*. And being supported in his just Demands by the powerful Earls of Chester, Pembroke, Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrars, &c. the King comply'd, at least for a Time ; and continuing to take the same impolitick Courses, the Barons renew'd their Complaints ; and the King might again have been easily persuaded to Compliance, says Mr. Echard, but the Bishop of Winchester infus'd more Spirit and Resolution into him. Pretty Terms these, for Oppression and Obstinacy. He summon'd the Barons to come in and give Security for their Loyalty ; which great Numbers did. But the Potent Earl of Pembroke being forewarn'd of Danger by the Countess of Cornwall, his Sister, fled into Wales ; where finding himself oppress'd, to use the same Author's Words, and deserted by some whom the Bishop of Winchester had bought off, he enter'd into a Confederacy with Lewellyn, &c. The King sent the Bishop of St. David's to defy him. Do we read of such Millions in the Apostles Time, or the first Ages of the Church ? Is this a Message of Peace, fit for a Minister of the Gospel ? However, some milder Counsellors being heard, King Henry promis'd once more to rectify what

was

was amiss; and not making much haste, the Barons petition'd him, for the Honour of Almighty God, to take into Favour his natural Subjects, even his natural Brother, whom without any Trial by their Peers, he treated as Rebels. But the former Spirit and Resolution being again infus'd into him by the Bishop of Winchester, that Prelate reply'd for his Master; *The Peers in England are not like the Peers in France, and the King may banish and condemn by his Judges only.* All the Bishops were not of this Mind. Those who sided with the Barons, excommunicated the King's evil Counsellors; and the Bishop of Winchester appeal'd to the Pope. The Earl of Pembroke, and the other injur'd Lords, finding by the Bishop's Answer, that their Lives and Fortunes were at Mercy, stood on their Defence with great Success; only, says Mr. Echard, *the Earl's Misfortune was to have his Sovereign on the contrary Side.*

Men of a certain Profession, who had their Breeding at a College in the Reigns of King Charles and King James the II^d, must take a great deal of Pains to eradicate the dangerous Tenents they were taught there. The Encouragement which has been given to the Propagators of them, has hinder'd many from searching after the Truth.

It was the Earl's Misfortune to have the King against him. It was the King's Misfortune to have the Earl against him. Civil Wars are Misfortunes on both Sides. The contrary Side to the Earl was Tyranny, if to banish and hang People in England without Trial by their Peers be Tyrannical; and I think in such a Case, when a Man's Activity in his own Defense succeeds, it is no Misfortune at all. A Hint of this Kind, in such a Case, has as mischievous Intent as open Argument for Arbitrary Power.

Those

Those Successes of the Earl brought the King to another Compliance; and he found the Treasurer he had made upon the Change of his Ministry so dishonest, that he said, *If he had not been a Bishop, he would cause his Eyes to be pull'd out.* Many horrid Practices, such as Bribery, Murder, and the like, were discover'd, after the King was reconcil'd to the Barons, which Reconcilement lasted not long: For the Queen's Uncle insinuated himself so far into her Husband's Favour, as to govern both King and Kingdom to the Dislike of all People. However it did not presently break out into a War. Some of the leading Barons were made Privy-Counsellors. Upon which they all took an Oath to give no *unfaithful Advice, and abstain from Corruption.*

Our Historian tells us, that in the Year 1248, the Parliament *insulted* the King. Indeed there happen'd something very extraordinary in that Assembly, considering *Brady* will not allow there was yet any Parliament at all. And when he owns there was one Sixteen or Seventeen Years after, he declares they were a Creation of the Kings, to exist or be annihilated *ad Placitum.* So far was this Convention from owning any such Insignificance, that they remonstrated, *That neither the Justiciary, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, were made by the Common Council of the Kingdom, as they were in the Reign of the King's Predecessors.* Five Years after, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster* in a most solemn Manner, consisting of *Magnates omnes & Communitas Populi.* *Matt. Westm.* styles it, *Parliamentum magnum.* Yet we have several Years to come before the Word *Parliament* was us'd, or the Commons admitted to it, according to *Brady*; of whose Honesty and Judgment the Reader, I doubt not, has by this Time conceiv'd a just Idea. In this Assembly, *Magna Charta,*

Charta, and all the *Grand Charters*, were solemnly confirm'd, and the Breakers of them excommunicated with lighted Torches. King Henry held his Hand upon his Breast; the Bishops threw down their Tapers, and while they lay smoaking on the Ground, cry'd out, *So let all Opposers of this Sentence be extinguish'd, and stink in Hell.* At the same Time the King said, *So God help me. I will faithfully keep all these Things inviolably, as I am a Man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crown'd and anointed.* Notwithstanding this Oath, he gave his Subjects as great Cause of Complaint as ever. *They despair'd of Redress, as Matt. Paris says. The King, like another Proteus, took all Shapes upon him to serve his End, and slipt out at his Pleasure; no Promises or Ties being strong enough to hold him.*

A Parliament was summon'd to meet at Oxford, Anno 1258. whither the Lords came well attended; and the King and his Son swore, That there should be a Council of 24 Peers Spiritual and Temporal, who should appoint the great Officers, have Custody of the Castles, &c. The King was to name twelve of them, and the Barons the other twelve. The King and his Son also swore, *That three Parliaments should meet every Year.* These are call'd the *Provisions of Oxford*; and the whole Baronage of England was bound by Oath, *never to desist from prosecuting these just Resolves, either for Loss of their Lives or Estates.* The Archbishops and Bishops curs'd all such as should resist them. Here Mr. Echard bestows an Epithet on these Barons, the *Insolent Nobility*, which is to prepare the Way for his declaring them Rebels in a Page or two. The King soon got the Pope to absolve him, put himself into the Tower, broke open the Treasury, fortify'd London, turn'd out the great Officers, who held

held their Places by Vertue of the Provisions of Oxford, and oblig'd the Youth of the City of London to take Arms.

Thus the Reader will observe he begins the War; and the breaking so solemn an Oath in so outrageous a manner, requires very strong Arguments to make it *Rebellion* in the Barons to keep their Oath. The best I meet with in Mr. Eckard's and other Histories is, "That the King's Oath being made without his Holiness's Consent, was unlawful; the Pope being the King's Supreme Lord, and Henry now acknowledg'd himself to be the Pope's Vassal". To enslave his People, he submitted himself to the vilest Slavery. King of a potent Kingdom, he own'd himself a Vassal to the Bishop of Rome. His own Honour, as well as the Nations, the Safety of his Kingdom, the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects were here all at once sacrific'd to the Pope's Pride and his Favourite's Revenge. The Reader will farther observe, that before he enter'd upon this ruinous Project, he took care to engage the French by a dishonourable Treaty; and he will learn by it, that ill Ministers in all Ages act generally alike, as well as good; and wholesome and destructive Counsels come from the same Quarters.

His Breach of Oath succeeded so ill, that the King and his Son were taken Prisoners by the Barons, who having now no Court Enemies to fear, fell out among themselves, and by their Divisions made way for the Ruin which attended them.

In the mean Time we come to the Renown'd Forty-ninth of Henry the III^d, when Brady allows the Parliament met first in England. Mr. Eckard says, in this critical and rebellious Year, these pretended Patrons of Liberty were indemnify'd, and all the grand Charters once more confirm'd.

This

This Assembly was summon'd by Writs, as Parliaments now are; Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes. Five Months after, the Barons receiv'd a great Overthrow by the Prince's Army, conſiderably increas'd by the Deſertion of ſeveral of the moſt powerful Peers and their Followers. Nothing prevented their ſuffering whatever might be expected from the Inconſtancy of this King, and the Reſentment of his Favourites, but their Fear of putting the ſame bad Cauſe to another ſuch Trial, when perhaps the Barons might not give them ſuch another Opportunity to deſtroy them by their Diviſions.

The *Engliſh* Reader will take Notice, that the *Barons* were all along forc'd to the *Reſiſtance* for which Mr. *Echard* and others call them *Rebels*. He will ſee, that there had been many Conventions of the Lords and Commons during the *Saxon* Heptarchy, and the *Engliſh* Monarchy; and be ſatisfy'd, that *Brady*, and the reſt of them, Advocates for Church and State Tyranny, have betray'd the Truth of Hiſtory, as their Patrons betray'd the Liberty of their Country.

In the Second Year of *Edward I.* it was enacted, That no Tax ſhould be levy'd without the Conſent of the Knights and Burgeſſes in Parliament: Which Act was publiſh'd with Excommunication, as an Addition to *Magna Charta*; and yet *Brady* affirms, in his Book of *Boroughs*, That from the 49th of *Henry III.* to the 23d of *Edward I.* the Commons of *England* were not ſummon'd to Parliament. Dr. *Hody* has printed the very Writ of Summons for Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, directed particularly to the Sheriffs of *Somerſetſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*; to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Briſtol*, Mayor and Citizens of *Wincheſter*, Mayor and true Men of

A. D.

1272.

Edward I.

Wor-

Worcester, Balliffs and true Men of Shrewsbury, Anno Regni Edwardi I. 11. So here's another notorious Falsity prov'd upon *Brady*, tho' he got but 12 Years by it; For from *A. R. 23.* the Lists of the Members are preserv'd in *Pryn* and *Willis*. This was a glorious Reign; and the honest *English* Reader will find, that our greatest Princes have always cherish'd the Rights and Liberties of their Subjects. The generous Spirit which form'd them Heroes, made them scorn the vile Methods practis'd by the Promoters of *Arbitrary Power*. A brave Man can't be cruel, nor a good Man unjust; and Tyrants have always prov'd alike, Cowards and Oppressors.

A. D.
1279.

This great King, to diminish the exorbitant Power of the Ecclesiasticks, held a Parliament in the Year 1279, wherein the first Statute of *Mortmain* was enacted. By this Act, the Laity were hinder'd from ruining their Families to enrich the Priests; who having, as they pretended, their Souls at their Mercy, were wont to extort from them, on their Death-beds, the best Part of their Lands.

Edw. II.

A. D.
1307.

As King *Edward* came to the Crown by Succession, so did his Son *Edward II.* but was not like to possess it with the same Glory. He began ill, by throwing *William Langton*, Bishop of *Chester*, his Father's faithful Treasurer, into Prison; and contrary to the late King's express Command, by recalling his loose Minion *Pierce Gaveston*, who fill'd his Court with Buffoons and Parasites, and insulted the Lords, and even the Princes of the Blood; yet this weak King declar'd, *he would make him his Heir if he cou'd*; and marry'd him to his Niece *Margaret*, Sister to the Earl of *Glocester*. He was a *Gascon* by Birth; and agreeable to the Vanity of his Nation, appear'd at a Tournament at *Wallingford* with so numerous an Attendance

dance of Foreigners, that he defy'd the *English* Nobility, especially the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, and *Warren*; mighty Barons, or rather Princes of that Age. With these join'd the Bishops; and both represented the Enormities of the Courtiers in such affecting Terms, that the King acknowledg'd the Grievances, and empower'd Seven Bishops, Eight Earls, and Six Barons to redress them. They accordingly drew up Articles, to the Performance of which the King solemnly swore. By the 28th Article, the Minion *Gaveston* was banish'd; but he soon recall'd him, and made a publick Declaration of his Innocence. *Gaveston* grew still more insolent, insomuch that he affronted the Queen. Mr. *Echard* tells us, the King was as loose in his personal Affection to him, as he was in his publick Favours. To prevent the utter Ruin of King and Kingdom, the Lords held secret Conferences, and were much animated by the old Earl of *Lincoln's* Speech to the powerful Earl of *Lancaster*, who had marry'd his Daughter and Heir. In this Speech the *English* Reader will find the true Spirit and Principles of the old *English* Barons, very far from the Doctrines preach'd by the inferior Clergy in our Times.

" God has bless'd you, said the old dying Earl,
" with greater Riches and Authority than any
" Nobleman of *England*; for which you owe the
" greater Honour and Service. You see the
" Church of *England* formerly in a State of Li-
" berty, now reduc'd to Servitude by the Op-
" pression of the *Romans*; and the People who
" have enjoy'd many Privileges, brought to the
" same Condition by divers Taillages and Vexati-
" ons. I advise you therefore, by God's Bless-
" ing and my own, that when you have an Op-
" portunity, you will deliver the Church and
" People

" People from such Oppression. That you will
 " pay all due Honour and Reverence to the King
 " your Lord, and will cause him to remove
 " Strangers and evil Counsellors from his Pre-
 " sence, and effectually to observe the Tenor of
 " *Magna Charta*, and all the other Ordinances
 " granted to the Clergy and Laity. For the ac-
 " complishing of which, you should contract a
 " strict Alliance with the Earl of *Warwick*, who
 " understands them better than any other.

This Speech had such an Effect, that the Earls
 of *Lancaster*, *Hereford*, *Pembroke*, *Warren*, *Arun-*
del, and *Warwick*, with other potent Barons, pe-
 tition'd King *Edward* to deliver *Gaveston* to them,
 or banish him according to his several Promises,
 and the late Ordinances. But neither their hum-
 ble Petition, nor a Flood of Tears from the
 Queen, then big with Child of a Son, afterwards
 the famous *Edward III.* prevail'd with him. But
 hearing they were coming to renew their Petition
 at *York*, attended by their Friends and Vassals,
 he fled to *Tinmouth*, and thence by Sea to *Scar-*
borough, taking with him his Favourite, the Cause
 of this Disturbance; which ended upon *Gave-*
ston's falling into the Hands of the Earl of *War-*
wick, who order'd his Head to be cut off, and was
 not long after poison'd by the King's secret Friends;
 says our Historian.

King *Edward* issu'd out a General Pardon, and
 the Parliament gave him a plentiful Supply. But
 Three Years after, he solemniz'd *Gaveston's* Fu-
 neral, removing his Corpse with great Pomp and
 Splendor from *Oxford* to *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*,
 himself attending it, with the Archbishop of *Can-*
terbury, Four Bishops, many Abbots and Priests.
 Mr. *Echard* owns, few of the Nobility could so
 far set aside their Resentment, as to attend upon such
 an Occasion.

The Earl of Lancaster was beheaded before
his own Castle of Pomfret without Trial; as was
also

The Lord Roger Clifford
 The Lord Warren Lisse
 The Lord William Tocket
 William Lord Cheyney
 Thomas Lord Mowbray } at York.
 Jacelin Lord D'euville
 Lord Mauduit
 Lord Bradbourn
 Lord Fitz Williams
 Lord Teyes was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd
 at London.
 Lord Aldenham at Windsor.
 Lord Badlesmere }
 Lord Ashburnham } at Canterbury.
 Lord Gifford at Gloucester.

" This, in the Words of the Historian, was at-
 tended with the entire Confiscation of all their
 " Lands, Titles and Estates, by which many
 " were enrich'd and advanc'd. Never was the
 " English Nation so stain'd with the Blood of her
 " Nobility, since the Conquest; which being
 " caus'd in a great Measure by the Spencers, and
 " without regular Process, it open'd Veins for
 " more to follow, and afterwards procur'd a most
 " dismal Revenge". However, the same Au-
 thor calls the Earl of Lancaster a Rebel. Morti-
 mer, in his Words, was imprison'd for joining in
 that Rebellion; and making his Escape to France,
 was follow'd by the Queen, with her Son Prince
 Edward. Upon her Return to England with some
 Forces, she was join'd by the Lords; and the
 King being abandon'd by his Parasites, fled into
 Wales. The Spencers were taken and hang'd.
 The Bishop of Hereford preach'd before the Queen
 and her Court at Oxford, taking for his Text,
 My head aketh, my head aketh. Whence he con-
 cluded, that an aking Head was of Necessity to be
 taken off. Hugh Peters could not come up to this
 Bishop

Bishop in false and cruel Doctrine. And one sees what Sort of Operation would be practis'd, if this Prelate had been the Surgeon. The Citizens of London rose in Favour of the Queen, and cut off the Head of the Bishop of Exeter, a Tool of the Spencers. Proclamations were daily issu'd from the Queen's Army, That if the King would come in and conform himself to the Laws, he should be restor'd.

But as such Princes generally do on such Occasions, he rather chose to conceal himself, than trust to this Declaration; or indeed, rather to lose his Kingdom than govern by Law. We had a like Instance in our Times.

The Earl of Lancaster's Brother found out the King in Wales, and brought him to Kenelworth Castle in Warwickshire. Bishop Baldock, his Chancellor, was thrown into Newgate by the Citizens, and there he dy'd. Simon de Reading was hang'd with young Spencer, and no other Executions follow'd this happy Revolution: For the Reader will always find the Lovers of Liberty to be Lovers of Mercy, and sometimes to have given the Friends to Tyranny an Advantage by it.

A Parliament being summon'd at London, it was adjudg'd and declar'd, that King Edward was unfit to govern, for Reasons which serve as well for the last abdicated King James the Second, "That in all his Reign he had been misled and govern'd by others, who gave him evil Counsel, to the Dishonour of himself, and the Destruction of the Church and his People: Nor would he remedy these Things, when he was petition'd by the chief Men of his Kingdom, nor suffer them to be redress'd.

"By his Pride and Cruelty he destroy'd the Church and her Ministers, imprisoning some,

“and distressing others; and also executed, imprisoned, banish’d and disinherited many great and noble Men of the Land.

“Whereas he was bound by Oath to do Justice to all, he had no Regard thereto, but abandon’d his Kingdom, and endeavour’d to destroy his People, &c.

A. D.
1326.
Edw. III.

His Son, Edward the Third, was appointed King, and at his Coronation, the Archbishop of Canterbury preach’d upon this Text, *The Voice of the People, is the Voice of God.* But it seems our Archbishop of Canterbury, *Santrose*, knew better, or did worse. Edward the Third, who reign’d next, scorn’d to advance his Power, by depressing the Rights of his Subjects. He turn’d his Arms against France, and became a Conqueror. The English will never have Reason to be afraid of a King of an Heroick Genius; nor of Ministers who will hold no Correspondence with France, otherwise than what they dare avow, and what is for the good of their Master, and his People.

But notwithstanding Mr. *Edwards* introduces this Reign so elegantly, *The English Nation not only recover’d Vigor and Strength, but also Beauty and Glory*: He can’t help reflecting on King Edward the Third’s *Revolutionary* Right, and endeavouring to blacken it with his Father’s Death, though it is most certain Edward the Son knew nothing of it, and abhor’d the Crime, and the Criminals. Besides, what he says is not true; For King Edward the Son’s Throne, was not erected upon his Father’s Blood, ’twas erected upon the Voice of the People. He adds, *Heaven’s Vengeance did not stop at the Lives of Gournay and Maltravers*; tho’ by the way, he owns Maltravers liv’d a penitent Life in Germany; but afterwards reach’d to the whole Kingdom; and what happen’d to the Progeny of the present Prince, whose Throne, though

“ though perhaps without his Guilt, I was erected
 “ upon his Father’s Blood, the many embred
 “ Scaffolds, the various bloody Fields, the infi-
 “ nite Slaughters, occasion’d by their divided Fa-
 “ milies, with the extirpated Race of most of
 “ this present Nobility, will abundantly te-
 “ stify.

The appropriating of Judgments, has always been a tender Point among pious and sober Men. And besides, there was another Deposition, and Death, that of *Richard the Second*, before the divided Families suffer’d thus for the Sins of *Maltravers* and *Gournay*. Whether the Queen and *Mortimer* employ’d them, or not, I shall not determine; but must deny what he avers, that all the *Chief Actors* in the *Revolution*, were concern’d in the *Tragedy*. The Reader will see how impatient the Historian was to reflect so severely on an Event, which those *Actors* disown’d; and they are such Passages as these, which corrupt the Truth of History, and tend to corrupt the Principles of all that read them.

As I am not writing an History of *England* in Form, but treating only of those Parts of it, which will contribute most to confirm the honest *English* Reader in his honest *English* Principles; so I shall leave the rest to the Histories at large; And this being an active glorious Reign, will doubtless give him as much Pleasure as Instruction.

Histories for this Period, from the Norman Invasion, to the Death of Edward III.

Sir William Temple’s Introduction, and Life of William I.

Dr. John Heyward’s William I. William II. Holinshed.

Daniel.

Prynne's King John.

Sir Robert Cotton's Henry III.

Tyrrel.

Sir Robert Howard's Edward II. Richard II.

Joshua Barnes's Edward III.

Though Mr. *Echard* in his Preface, has endeavour'd to lessen *Holinshead's* Merit, yet I will venture to assure the Reader, that allowing something for Language, his *History of England* is still the best we have, and will give one the greatest Insight into the Manners and Customs of the several Ages which are the Subject of it.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Church History of England, from the earliest Times of Christianity, to the Fifteenth Century.

A. D.
1040.

THE *English* Reader will be surpriz'd, if ever he should turn over *Heylin*, *Wharton*, *Collier*, and other Historians of their Strain and Profession, to find such a formal and particular Account of the first Conversion of the *Britains*, when we assure him, they were known no more in those Ages to the rest of the World, than the *Siberians*, or *Hottentots* are to us.

Some tell you that *Simon Zelotes* was here; others that *Peter* preach'd to the *Britains*. One *Sophronius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, affirms it was *St. Paul* who converted them. Another ascribes

it

it to *Doritheus*, a Companion of *Simon Zelotes*; But almost all agree, that *Joseph of Arimathea*, and *Aristobulus*, mention'd by *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, were in *Britain*, and built the first Christian Church at *Glastonbury*, of which *Sammes* has given us as exact a Draught as if he had survey'd it.

The Authorities for this, are a Manuscript in the Pope's Library, mention'd by *Baronius*, and that of one *Freculphus* a Bishop, who wrote about the Year 840. The Place where they make Saint *Joseph* to have landed, is Twelve Miles from the Sea, which being low Ground, they have overflow'd it, to make way for his Vessel; and form'd the Island of *Avallon*. Bishop *Godwin* would confirm this, by the Authority of the Monks of *Malmsbury*, and *St. Patrick* of *Ireland*: But the Story had lasted so long, and been told so often, that it was generally believ'd. Besides, it was so much for the Interest of the Monks of *Glaston* to have it credited, that they seconded it with many Miracles, especially that of the *Holy Thorn*, which blossoms every 25th of *December*, or *Christmas-Day*, and is the Remains of *Joseph's* Staff, as I my self was gravely inform'd upon the Spot. This Miracle not only proves that Saint's Mission, but also settles to a Nicety the Chronology of our Saviour's Nativity, just on the *Twenty Fifth* of *December*, though *Scaliger* affirms he was born in *Autumn*. The *Vulgar Account* begins it *January* the *First*, and others place the Day of his Birth otherwise.

The Story of *Joseph* is a plain Fiction, and the Monks having read in *Juvenal* of one *Arviragus*, a King in *Britain*, they make him to be *St. Joseph's* Patron, and to have given him Twelve *Hydes* of Land, so call'd then, when the Word *Hyde* had never been heard of, and the same at

this very Day. The Mischief of it is, *Arviragus* and *St. Joseph* could not have met together, without a greater Miracle than that of his Staff, *Joseph* dying in the Reign of the Emperor *Caligula*, and *Arviragus* flourishing in that of *Domitian*.

de temone Britannia

Excider Arviragus

The Monks were not contented with the Story of King *Arviragus's* Patronizing *Joseph of Arimathea*. They also made a Christian of him, to the great Damage of King *Lucius*, who by this Means would lose the Honour of being the first Christian King. To prove this, they forg'd a Medal, *A Crown'd Head with a Cross, and a String of Pearls*, which, says *Camden*, is thought to have been *Arviragus*. *Harding* affirms he was a Christian; but 'tis generally said, says *Camden* again, *erga Religionem Christianam bene affectus*. *Gildas* places the Conversion of the *Britains* to Christianity, in *Tiberius's* Reign, Forty Years before the Commencement of that of *Domitian*, which is very inconsistent with the Mission of *Joseph of Arimathea*, in the Reign of King *Arviragus*.

Bishop Stillingfleet has confuted this Fable, in his *Origine Brit.* But then he endeavours to establish another, that of the Conversion of the *Britains* by Means of King *Lucius*, who sent *Elianus Faganus*, and *Meduanus*, to Pope *Eleutherius*. *Gildas*, who wrote about 300 Years after, makes no Mention of this King *Lucius* and his Conversion; and when such learned Men as *Archbishop Usher*, and *Bishop Stillingfleet*, espouse an Opinion so ill founded, one cannot but pity the Weakness of Human Nature, so fond of every Thing which

which adds either to one's Profit or Reputation. It being much for the Credit of their Profession, that it should boast of so much Antiquity. If such Men as these give into the like Visions, what may we not expect from Archdeacon *Echard*? Besides, that the *Romans* were Masters of this Island, and King *Lucius* is only mention'd on this Occasion: The Fiction is gross, and appears to be Monkish, by this Application of King *Lucius* to the Pope, as if he had so early as the Year 170, been the Head of the Church; and by the Pope's Answer in a pretended Epistle to *Lucius*, still extant; the Forgery of the Letter will be discover'd by these Marks. The Date is in the Text 169, in the Margin 156, yet neither agree with *Eleutherius's* Papacy, which *Eusebius* begins in the Year 179, and *Tallent* 177. To this may be added *Baronius's* Testimony; in the Epistle, which is in the *Papal* and *Royal* Stile, it is said, *You are God's Vicegerent in your own Kingdom*; whereas, if there was really ever such a Man as King *Lucius*, he was Vicegerent only to some *Roman* Proconsul, who commanded in this Island, then entirely reduc'd to the Obedience of the *Romans*. Whether you place him over the *Iceni* in *Norfolk*, or over the *Dobuni* in *Oxfordshire*, the one or the other being his Territory, if ever he had any; the *Romans* were absolute Masters in both. In the Epistle is the Word *Manutenerere*, which we translate *maintain*, and was not in Use in *Eleutherius's* Time, but smells rather of the *Norman* Law *Latin*. The Texts of Scripture quoted in the Epistle, are the Translation of *St. Jerom*, who liv'd 200 Years after *Eleutherius*. The Epistle never came into the World till 1000 Years after its pretended Date. But to fix the Forgery beyond Doubt, the Proceedings of King *Lucius* upon Receipt of this Epistle, will convince any reason-

reasonable Man, that they were made for him by the Priests; who tell us that *Lucius*, in his little tributary dependant Kingdom, of a County or Two, turn'd Twenty Eight *Flamens*, and Three *Arch-flamens*, out of the Roman Temples, and put Twenty Eight Bishops, and Three Archbishops, new Converts to the Christian Religion, in their Room. Here's a Church form'd in an Instant, with as much Power and Pomp, as if Archbishops and Bishops had had the Revenues of their Successors to maintain it.

This is not the only Instance wherein the Roman Priesthood, after they call'd themselves *Christians*, were very fond of imitating the Pageantry of the Pagans, and met with too much Encouragement. They tell you further, that *St. Peter's Cornhill* was consecrated, in the Reign of King *Lucius*, by *Theonius*, a Bishop, with the Rites and Ceremonies *A la Moderne*. The Catastrophe of King *Lucius*, is like his Conversion. 'Tis said he resign'd his Imperial Crown, turn'd Preacher, converted the *Germans*, and was martyr'd at *Curia*. Some Authors, 'tis true, envy him this Honour, and make him dye at *Gloucester*, one of his Royal Seats, Fourteen Years after his Conversion. Now if any Part of *England* was subject to the Romans, that City was in a particular Manner, it being their strongest Frontier Garison against the *Silures*, *Britains of South Wales*, a Station, or Place of Arms. Bishop *Godwin*, from whom *Camden* has taken what he writes of *St. Joseph*, and King *Lucius*, speaks thus of this Establishment of a Hierarchy here by the latter; *There is nothing more absurd in this History, than the Imagination of filling the Sees of Archbishops and Bishops, according to the Place and Number of the Flamens, forsooth, and Arch-flamens, of the Pagans.* Add to this, that there were at that Time not only no Archbishops
in

in the World, but there never had been any *Arch-flamen*. No man, says the same learned Prelate, I dare affirm, is able to shew out of any ancient Writer, that ever there was any such Office among the Gentiles, as Arch-flamen.

Mr. Echard will not confirm the Story of King *Lucius* himself, but he refers you to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, whose Authority is, I confess, very prevalent: However, I question whether it will overcome so many Difficulties as we have met with in it. When such Things are incredible in themselves, the Ecclesiastical Writers, who are loth to give them up, foist them upon you under some great Name or other; and are much help'd out by *Bede*, who, tho' more learned, was as errant a Monk as the rest of them.

A very great Admirer of Monckery, Mr. *Tanner*, in the Preface to his *Notitia Monastica*, informs us, that the *Winchester* Historian reports, there was an Abbey founded by King *Lucius* at *Winton*, A. D. 174. for Monks of the Order of *St. Mark*; and that the Lands and Privileges of the *Flamens* of *Winchester*, all the Country Twelve Miles about, were settled upon the Bishops and the Fryars.

I cannot in my Compass, enter farther into the Disquisition of this Matter, and have said enough to shew the Fable in it. 'Tis obvious why it was invented. The Pope sent *Damianus* and *Fugatius*, Two Roman Priests, with the Epistle before-mention'd: They baptiz'd almost all the *Britains*, and in a Succession from them, you meet with a *Man Jure Divino* in every Parish-Church in England. The Chain of Succession is, they assure you, preserv'd as entire as that of the Sacred Genealogy in *St. Matthew*, *Abraham* begat *Isaac*, &c. thus in a metaphorical Sense, *St. Paul* begat Pope *Linus*, Pope *Linus* begat Pope *Cletus*, and 100 Years after

after Pope *Soter* begat Pope *Eleutherius*, who begat *Damianus* and *Fugatus*, and they all the *English* and *Welsh* Priests, for 15 or 1600 Years, even to this Day, without the least Bastardy or Interruption; so that nothing can be made out plainer than the *Divine Right* of the Parochial Clergy to the Keys lineally or collaterally from the Apostle *St. Paul*.

Whatever great Name the honest *English* Reader meets with, to give Authority to such *Ecclesiastical* History, he will take the Liberty to follow Probability and common Sense, and then he will be safe in his Judgment.

Where there's no particular Light, as there is not in this Case, we must make use of the general one, by which we know that the Affairs of *Gaul* had great Influence on those of *Britain*. The Religion, Customs, Manners, and Laws of *Britains* and *Gauls*, were much the same. The *Britains* were the more Superstitious, and their *Druids*, by their Precepts and Examples, had a better Reputation than those of *Gaul*. When the *Romans* conquer'd on the Continent, they soon invaded this Island, with which its Neighbours had great Communication; and when Christianity was preach'd in *Gaul*, which was in the Time of the Apostles; it was soon preach'd here, and with Success, but not such Success, as the Monks and their Followers represent. That the Conversion of the *Britains* was not from *Rome*, we have Reason to believe; for that the *British* Christians follow'd the Practice of the *Greek* or *Eastern* Church in most Things; particularly their keeping *Easter*, a Controversy that lasted longest of any between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches. And I must say this for our Parochial Clergy, who are the greatest Sticklers for the *Divine Right* of Spiritual and Temporal Succession, that I do believe every good and

and pious Minister of our Church, conscientiously exercising his Function, has as much of that *Divine Right*, as ever any of his Predecessors brought from the *East*, or elsewhere.

This Concession will not satisfy: The Exception to my Provision of a Conscientious Exercise, will be almost general. They will have it without any Exception at all, and not be oblig'd for their Rights and Possessions to the Laws of the Land only.

'Tis certain the Christian Religion continu'd to be promulgated here in the Three first Centuries, but not in such a Manner, as some of the Ecclesiastical Writers pretend. I believe it will be granted, that Christianity spread much faster in lesser *Asia*, so near the City which was the Source of it, than it cou'd in the Northern Parts of Europe: And yet a very great Author, in his *Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, &c. of the Primitive Church*, assures us, that 265 Years after Christ, the Christians of the Diocese of Antioch, were able to meet in the House. And let the Reader, who is not entirely convinc'd of the Fiction of King *Lucius*, his *Flamens*, and *Arch-flamens*, read that learned and excellent Treatise with Attention, he'll soon perceive there were neither *Flamens* nor *Arch-flamens*, *Bishops*, nor *Archbishops*, in our Acceptation of the Terms, in those Times.

The Monks were oblig'd to drop the Monarchy of Britain upon King *Lucius's* Death, and therefore they make him to be succeeded in his Kingdom by the Roman Emperor *Severus*.

Weighing these Matters seriously, the Reader, when he meets with *Collier*, and other modern Church Historians, instead of being angry with them, will be pleas'd to see how they labour to build something upon nothing. With what Formality

mality they talk of the ancient *British* Synods, Bishops, Archbishops, and of the Constitution of a *British* Church. That there was a Church of Christ here, even before *Lucius's* *Æra*, is not question'd; such a Church as will not do *Collier's* Business, a praying, fasting, persecuted Church, without Power or Revenues; a religious, sober, suffering Ministry, whose Lives were their best Lessons, and who doubtless had never been *Christians*, if they had not been taught by another Sort of *Mission* than was that of *Austin* the Monk, from whom the Parochial Clergy do in the next Place derive their *Jure Divino*. *Echard*, and the rest of them, who have any Learning, and give such a splendid Account of the Power and Prerogatives of the Church, other than as it is dependent on the State, know better Things: Nay, that it is what *Dr. Prideaux*, the very Learned Regius Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*, stil'd *vera Chimæra*, a mere Chimera; so *A. Wood* informs us, p. 278. And what Difference there is between the Opinion of this great Scholar, and the Cry of a turbulent, restless, ignorant Faction, one may imagine by the Character *Degory Whare* gives the same *Dr. Prideaux*. He is the greatest Divine we have; a plentiful Fountain, as of all other Sorts of Learning, so among the rest, of all Sorts of Histories; at whose Waters I have very often, with the greatest Pleasure, quench'd my Thirst. What a contemptible Crew must the *Colliers*, the *Whartons*, the *Heylins*, &c. be, in Comparison of this plentiful Fountain of all Sorts of Learning as well as History! And yet he knew of no such Church as they contend for; so Powerful, so Lordly, so Rich, so Glorious, and so Antique!

Before

Before we meddle with the Monk *Austin*, we must see how it went with Religion, between the Death of King *Lucius*, and the Arrival of that Missionary.

When the Empire became Christian, 'twas natural for the Emperors to favour their Converters, and as natural for them to make the most of their Favour. Immediately there were Patriarchs, Archbishops, Synods, Councils, and much like the same Form in the Church as at present, and though not all at once, the same Power.

That this might not seem a Novelty, or an Encroachment on Temporals, the *Presbyters* in the Primitive Church are stil'd *Bishops*; the *Conferences* among the Christian Preachers, *Synods*, and *Councils*. Though one can hardly imagine the Christians, who during the Three first Centuries, suffer'd under Ten terrible Persecutions, were in a Condition to establish Bishopricks and Archbishopricks, to hold Councils and Synods, to decree Canons, and fulminate, as is done now-a-days: But so the Reader will be made to believe, by the Copiers after *Baronius*, such as *Eshard*, *Collier*, and others. *Du Pin*, the French Historian, is a little more modest. The Apostles meeting at *Jerusalem*, A. D. 48, is call'd the first Council of *Jerusalem*, and the Term is appropriated to Religious Conferences only, as in some other Arts it has been taught to encrease the Mystery, even by the Term; I say other Arts, for whatever has been added to the Form of a Church, as we find it in Scripture, is Art, not to say worse. That there were such Religious Conferences, that there were Bishops and Presbyters, who met to consult about the State of their Churches, and to pray for their Purity, Peace and Safety, is most certain; but whether they bore any Resemblance to the Assemblies in succeeding Cen-

Centuries, or whether they were compos'd of Members, who minded so much their Temporal Power, Riches and Honours, may very well be question'd.

Mr. Fox, the *Martyrologist*, a very laborious honest Man, a little too credulous, gives into the Story of King *Lucius*, as much as any Protestant cou'd do, but he only copies *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*.

The next Fable we are to encounter with, is that of *Ursula*, and the 11000 Virgins, who were sent from *Cornwall* to propagate the Gospel, and their Species on the Continent. *Conan*, King of *Bretagne*, call'd anciently *Armorica*, had desir'd this Supply of Maidens to increase his People, who were much diminish'd by the Draughts made to recruit the Roman Armies. These 11000 Virgins, instead of crossing the Channel, and landing in *Bretagne*, were driven into the German Ocean, and being taken by the Infidels, perish'd for the most Part by their own Hands, to prevent being desir'd by the *Barbarians*. The rest were drowned, and at *Cologne* are shewn some of their Reliques at this Day, or something in Remembrance of them. They were sainted, and as much a Legend as this appears to be, it has had the good Word of several Ecclesiastical Writers. Some place the Destruction of these Virgins, Anno 238, others Anno 381, others A. D. 450. And it can't be otherwise, when several Persons write of an Incident founded in Falshood, without Concert.

In the Persecution under *Diocletian*, the *British* Christians suffer'd so much, that the very Name of Christianity was lost in this Island, except among the *Cornish* and *Welsh*: It began about the Year 300, and lasted all that cruel Tyrant's Reign. The *Britains* had been spar'd in the former Persecutions, by the Humanity or Negligence

gence of the *Roman* Governors, but now they had their Share of suffering; and our *Protomartyr*, *St. Alban*, *Amphibalus*, *Julian* and *Aaron*, were martyr'd at *St. Albans*, then call'd *Verulam*. The Priests, who wrote of *St. Alban's* Martyrdom, could not be content with the Courage, Patience and Piety of that Martyr, but have corrupted his History with Lies: Even the venerable *Bede* cannot help telling us, that he dry'd up a River as he went to the Place of Execution. That he made a *Well* spring on the top of a Hill, and that one of the Eyes of the Executioner dropp'd out. 'Tis added, that his Head spoke after 'twas cut off, and that Angels ascended and descended, singing to him all the Night; and that such as had been drowned in the River he dry'd up, were found alive. I have observ'd before, that though *Bede's* Name is made Use of by *Mr. Echard*, and others, to countenance the *Marvellous* in Church History, yet the Reader must be cautious in crediting him farther than consists with Probability, against which these Historians transgress more than the Poets.

Such Miracles as *St. Alban's* we must away with, if we will read our Ecclesiastical Writers, for on such Foundations do too many of them build their Edifices.

But lest I may be thought to deal by them too severely, see what the Reverend *Dr. Edwards* says of them in his *New Discoveries*, p. 40. "Ecclesiastical History is chiefly spent in reciting the
 " wild Opinions of Hereticks, the Contentions
 " between Emperors and Popes, the idle and superstitious Canons, and ridiculous Decrees and
 " Constitutions of pack'd Councils; their Debates about frivolous Matters, and playing the
 " Fool with Religion; the Consultations of Synods about augmenting the Revenues of the
 " Cler-

“Clergy, and establishing their Pride and Grandeur, the Impositions of Monks and Fryars; the Schisms and Factions of the Church; the Tyranny, Cruelty, and Impiety of the Clergy: And that illustrious Author, *Grotius*, does not stick to say, *He that reads Ecclesiastical History, reads nothing but the Raguery and Folly of Churchmen*, *Grot. Epistolæ*, p. 22. These are hard Words, but those are to be blam’d that gave the Occasion.

And now the Empire is become Christian, you’ll soon read of a Synod in *Britain*. The first we meet with, is that of *Verulam*, A. D. 446, at which *Germanus*, Bishop of *Auxerre* in *France*, and *Lupus*, Bishop of *Troyes*, assisted to confute the *Pelagian* Heresy. Nor was this the only good Turn *Germanus* did the *Britains*, for he led them against their Enemies, the *Picts* and *Saxons*; and by a Miracle or Stratagem obtain’d a great Victory. But of his Actions here, and his making Bishops and Archbishops, if the Reader can give Credit to the Monkish Writers, he will find them faithfully copied by *Jeremy Collier*, and others.

The Pagans having made such Havock among the Christians in *Britain*, and the *Saxons* over-running the Island from the Lands-End to *Edinburgh*, the Christian Name was not only almost worn out here, but the Christian Virtues were no more in Remembrance. *Gildas*, speaking of the Clergy of his Time, not long after the *Saxons* settled in this Island, says, “Nor was this the De-
 “meanor only of the Laity; *Here he enumerates*
 “the horrid Vices of those Times; but the Clergy
 “and Pastors too, whose Examples should be
 “Guide to all others. Yet many of them were
 “notorious for their *Drunkenness*, having de-
 “bauch’d themselves with Wine to a perfect Sot-
 “tishness;

“ tishness ; or else for being swoln with Pride
 “ and Wilfulness, full of Contention, full of
 “ Gall and Envy, and Incompetent Judges of
 “ Good and Evil: Thus were Princes plainly
 “ contemn’d and slighted, and the People se-
 “ duc’d, &c.

I make use of a Translation publish’d by a Right Reverend and Learned Prelate ; and the Reader will judge of the Difference between these ancient *British* Priests, and the modern Parochial *Priesthood*. When I speak thus, ’tis always with a large Exception to the Learned and Pious Clergy of the National Church, whose Lives and Doctrines are equally exemplary and instructive. I do always intend the *Furious*, Ignorant, Illiterate, and Immoral : And if there are no such, I am fighting with the Air, and shall certainly make as ridiculous a Figure as *Quixot* at War with the Windmill.

We are now come to a new Conversion of the Inhabitants of this Island from *Paganism* to *Poper*y ; for I am very fearful of calling so much of the *Romish* Superstition as *Austin* the Monk brought hither with him, the *Christian Religion*. *Collier* and his Brethren are extremely transported with the glad Tidings which came by this *Italian Friar*, who did baptize a Multitude of *Saxons* of all Qualities, from *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, to the meanest of his Subjects. But this History is so whimsically introduc’d by them, that one has good Reason to suspect the Truth of it.

The Scene opens with three or four Evangelical Puns dropp’d from the Mouth of *St. Gregory* the Pope, upon Sight of some *English* Boys, that were to be sold in the Streets of *Rome* ; tho’ it is hard to prove that they dealt then in such Merchandise in these Parts of the World.

Gregory demanding of what Country they were, he was answer'd, They are *Angles*, or *Englifs*. *Well may they be call'd Angles*, says he; *for they look like Angels*. We can't be angry with this, because 'tis so pretty a Compliment on our Country. The Curiosity of Gregory, nor his Puns, did not stop here. He then ask'd, Of what Province? It was said they were of *Deira*; the *Saxon Kingdom of Northumberland* being for a while subdivided into Two Kingdoms, *Deira*, of which one *Aetha* was then King, and *Bernicia*. God grant, says St. Gregory, that they may be *De ira Dei eruti*, deliver'd from the Wrath of God. He is still so curious, as to enquire what the King's Name was; and that luckily makes room for a third Pun. *Aetha*, reply'd the Merchant who sold the Boys. Upon which Gregory cry'd out, *All-tuja must needs be sung in those Parts*, &c. Accordingly he was coming hither himself, and had travel'd Three Days Journey on his Way, but the *Romans* fetch'd him back; and being chosen Pope, he, by *divine Impulse*, as we read in *Echard*, sent hither that proud Monk *Augustine*, as *Fox* calls him, who, we are told by Historians, landed here on the very Day upon which that grand Impostor *Mahomet* was born. And that he was a very silly, as well as a very proud Priest, may be seen by the Questions he sent to Pope Gregory to be answer'd by his Infallibility. They are in *Fox*, Vol. I. p. 52.

Imprimis, Of Oblations, and how they shou'd be shar'd.

The Pope answer'd, "In the Primitive Church there was not one who counted any Thing his own."

Quest. 2. *Whether Clerks that cannot contain, may marry?*

The Pope's Answer, " Let them have Wives. Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, are about *Matrimony*, and the Conjugal Duty.

The Eighth is so smutty that I dare not repeat it; but the Answer to it is still worse.

I shall finish his History with an Account of his Behaviour to the *British* Christians, whose Churches were preserv'd in *Wales*, under the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Landaff*, *Paterne*, *Bangor*, *St. Asaph*, of the *Wiccians*, and of *Margan*. *Austin* having, by the Help of his Wife, made a Convert of the King of *Kent*, at that Time Paramount or Chief, tho' not sole Monarch of *England*, went into *Wiccia*, or *Worcestershire*, to have a Meeting with the *British* Clergy.

Before the latter would meet him, they consulted an Hermit, an ancient wise and holy Man, whether they should acknowledge him or not? His Advice was this: " If he were a Man of God, to take the Course he shew'd, and to follow his Admonitions. And when they ask'd him, how they should discern whether he was a Man of God? he pronounc'd this Saying of our Saviour, *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and humble of heart.* " If therefore, continu'd he, this same *Augustine* be a meek and humble-minded Man, it is a great Presumption that he bears the Yoke of Christ, and offers the same to you. But if he be stout and proud, he is not of God. You may be bold. This therefore is my Advice. Have a care that he and his Company be first in the Place where you meet. If then, you being the greater Number, he rise not to do you Reverence, but despise you, despise you also him and his Counsel. I make use of Bishop *Godwin's* Words. The *English* Reader will see here, what is the only Characteristick of a *Man of God*,

to be *meek and humble-minded*. And let him look about him, when he comes into Cathedrals, Colleges, Convocations, Visitations, and the like. When he reads the Sermons on the 30th of *January*, and 29th of *May*; *Bath* and *Affize* Sermons; those that come from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and such as have Strength enough to crawl to the Press from some Country Churches: Let him compare the Temper he finds in them, with this good *Welsh* Hermit's Character of a *Man of God*; and then judge of the *Divinity* and the *DIVINE RIGHT* of both. He cannot err by such a Rule: I dare say there is not a *Man of God* in *Christendom*, but will be try'd by it.

To return to *Austin*. When he came to the Assembly, he advanc'd with his *Banner and Cross*, with *Singing, Procession, and great Pomp*. Good God! what a Surprize must this be to Men, who had study'd Christianity only in the Scripture. He never offer'd to move, when the *British* Bishops enter'd, nor made them the least Salutation. At which they conceiv'd the Indignation the *Anchorite* had advis'd, and wou'd have nothing to do with him; for they said, "He will not so much as rise out of his Chair to salute us. How much more, when we have submitted our selves to his Jurisdiction, will he condemn us, and set us at Nought". At which the Monk's Wrath was so kindled, that, in the Words of Bishop *Godwin*, "He could not forbear immediately to breathe out Threats against the poor *Britains*; telling them, that they which refus'd to be at Peace with their Friends, should shortly find War and Enemies; and that they should find temporal Death by the Sword of them, at whose Hands they would not receive the Offer of everlasting Life". Pursuant to his Menaces, he arm'd King *Ethelbert* against them, and

and his Soldiers murder'd 1100 Monks, who were unarm'd, and at Prayers for the Assistance of Heaven in the Time of their Peril and Distress. After the Reader has inform'd himself of these Things, he will receive no Damage by *Wharton, Collier*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers. They will not be able to impose this imperious Monk upon him for a *Saint*. And the Pomp and Pride of his Mission, taken with the sad Effects of it upon the poor *Britains*, will very much abate the Veneration with which those Historians would inspire him.

That there may remain no Blemish on this *Missionary*, from whom the Ecclesiasticks do frequently derive the Apostolical Succession, Mr. *Echard* tells us positively, *Austin liv'd not to see the Success of his Prophecy, but dy'd in the following Year 605*. Either he knew not the History, or he has grossly prevaricated in this Place. I'm satisfy'd, the Reader will rely on the Authority of Bishop *Godwin*, and I therefore repeat his Words. *Succes. Bish. p. 45*.

“ Well I know that divers affirm, *Austin* died
 “ the Year 603, not 605; whereas this War
 “ was made Two Years after that Time. And
 “ *Beda*, as now we have him, seemeth to con-
 “ firm the same; for talking of the foresaid
 “ Slaughter, and how it was foretold by *Augu-*
 “ *stine*, as before I have declared; he addeth,
 “ *Quamvis Augustino jam multo ante tempore ad ex-*
 “ *lestia Regna translato*: Although long before
 “ that War *Austin* had dy'd. This Mr. *Echard*,
 no doubt, was very well pleas'd with, as making
 much for his *Saint* and Prophet, the first Or-
 dainer of *English* Bishops. But what Bishop *God-*
win adds, is entirely sunk by him. “ Howbeit
 “ it appeareth manifestly, that these Words are
 “ fraudulently thrust in; for the old *Saxon* Co-
 “ pies,

“pies, whereof divers are to be seen, have no
 “such thing. *Again*; It appeareth, that *Augu-*
 “*stine* was alive, and confirm’d a Charter made
 “by King *Ethelbert* the Year 605, which was
 “Two Years after the War. And divers do wit-
 “ness he died after that; some the Year 611,
 “and others, as *Matt. Westm.* in the Year 608,
 “whereas most of our Historians affirm the
 “said War was made against the *Britains* the
 “Year 603.

Besides the Behaviour of the Monk *Austin*, the *British* Christians could not conform to the Ceremonies and Superstition of his Religion and Discipline. They were upon a Primitive Scripture Bottom, which makes almost as much Difference between Popery and Christianity, as between Christianity and virtuous *Paganism*.

As Dr. *Edwards* tells us, the Church History that’s to come is properly a History of Bishops, Abbots, Synods, Convocations, Excommunications, Penance, Tythes, Fines, and the like. Wherefore I shall be very short with it, and refer the Reader, who is more intent upon the Thing, to our Church Historians.

A *Pall* was sent to *Augustine*, and he is declar’d the first Archbishop of *Canterbury*. His Successor, *Laurence* pursu’d the same Steps; and being about to leave the Kingdom in Disgust, for the Banishment of his Brethren *Melitus* and *Iustus*, St. *Peter* came to him, as he was a-bed, in the Night, chid him for thinking to quit his Flock, and whipp’d his naked Body so cruelly, that ’twas all gore Blood. *Laurence* shewing the King his Wounds, and telling him how he came by them, his Majesty was so struck with it, that he recall’d *Iustus* and *Melitus*, and built a Church.

About the Year 740, *Cuthbert* being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Kings of *England*, and their Nobility forsook the Company of their Wives, and kept Concubines, most of whom were Nuns. "The Bishops likewise, says *Bishop* Godwin, and other of the Clergy, that should have been a Means of reforming these Faults in others, were themselves no less faulty; spending their Time either in Contentions and Brabbles, or else in Luxury or Voluptuousness, having no Care of Study, and seldom or never preaching; whereby it came to pass, that the whole Land was overwhelm'd with a most dark and palpable Mist of Ignorance, and polluted with all Kinds of Wickedness and Impiety.

If it be objected, This is an unfair Way of proceeding, to detach the bad Parts of History, and leave the good. Let the Reader imagine, from my last Quotation, what good there can be in such a Period; and be assur'd, that I will quote nothing but what is vouch'd by the best Authorities. Shou'd it be ask'd, Of what Use is all this? I answer, My Intention is to set the *English* Reader right, when he is in these Days of Errors; that he may not be dazzled with the Splendor and Outside of a Church, as *Collier*, and others, will paint it, when within it was so full of Corruption. None of the Ecclesiastical Writers enough distinguish between the good and bad Times of Religion; and as long as the Power and Show are preserv'd, seem not to have the Purity and Practice very much at Heart.

As bad as these Times are, they are full of Miracles; and so have they been ever since *Austin* came into *England*. Mr. *Echard* tells you of a Revelation to *Paulinus*, the Apostle of the *Northumbrians*. That of St. *Egwin* of *Wiccia* is more out

of the way than many of them. He being at *Rome*, put his two Legs in Chains, and had them fasten'd down by way of Penance for the Sins of his Youth. He then was carry'd aboard a Ship, and flung the Key of the Chains into the Sea; from whence it was taken up by a Fish, and brought into the Ship, to shew that his Penance had been expiatory. This is told by the grave Author of *Polychronicon*; and *Bede* himself has his Share of these Miracles in his venerable History; together with a large and compleat Treatise of *Shaving* in Religious Cases. *Lib. V. Cap. 21.*

Now was Monckery in the Height of its Glory about the Eighth Century, and for several Centuries so continu'd. There could not be more Wickedness and Ignorance in the World; and the only Way to Heaven was now through an Abby-Gate. Kings and Queens turn'd Friars and Nuns, and probably carry'd with them to the Convent more Religion than they found there. Such Princes as gave into this Folly, are transmitted down to Posterity with the greatest Advantage of Character. Such as were not so favourable to the Monks, are represented as Monsters of Men. What Sort of Lives the Nuns led, may be seen by a Letter from *Boniface*, the Apostle of the *Germans*, as he's call'd, an *Englishman*, to *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*. And yet there hardly was ever a greater Adorer of the Papacy; for he declar'd, *If the Pope carry'd innumerable Souls with him to Hell, no Man ought to reprehend him; he having Power to judge all Men, and no Man Power to judge him.* I doubt not, this *Boniface* will be met with in our Church-Histories in the Circumstances of a Saint, to borrow a Word from Farce; his Religion being not much better.

The great Pains which *Dugdale*, *Tanner*, and others, have taken to preserve the Memory of Monks and Monasteries, shew the good Liking they have to the Friars and Nuns, and their Willingness, like the *Israelites*, to return again to *Egypt*. It cannot be question'd, but there were many well-dispos'd Persons in these Monasteries of both Sexes; but not enough to warrant a Way of Life unknown to the Apostles and Primitive Christians. The Monks were a pamper'd standing Force, always devoted to the Interest of the Papacy, and very serviceable to that Interest by the Influence of their Revenues and Absolutions. One need not call them *Drones in so many Hives*, their Laziness and Luxury must produce such Effects. Little enough was the Learning of the World for Ten Centuries; and it was impossible but some of these Recluses must employ themselves in something else besides Luxury and Devotion. Books therefore lay in their Way, and little in the Way of any body else for many Ages. No wonder then, that there were Writers among them. But what Sort of Writings have they left behind them? Legends, Prophecies, Rhimes, and Histories, so confounded with Fables, that one cannot depend upon them, and yet are forc'd to make use of them.

Mr. *Echard* himself owns, that the Church Story is, in a great Measure, a confus'd Collection of Legends, Visions, Tales, &c. However, as they were zealous Asserters of the Divine Rights of the Priesthood, he will not part with them in Anger, and turns his Satyr into an Encomium. *Tet out of these Clouds of Darkness, out of these monkish, inconsistent Discourses, we may pick out many Things surprizing, and Matter sufficient for strange Admiration; if we take notice of the frequent Fastings, and the fervent Prayers, &c.*
What

What stately and magnificent Churches and Monasteries! there it goes. What plain and unlearned Zeal! And to crown all: What obedient Devotion!

When you read their Histories, you'll find they speak of *Monasticks* as early as the Apostles Days: But that's so impudent a Falsity, 'twill not stand Debate, and must be given up at Demand. *Paul* the Hermit fled into the Wilderness about the Year 300, and *Anthony* the Monk soon follow'd him: But they were not such Sort of Monks as rioted in our *British* Convents. Sir *Henry Spelman* assures us, the Friars had Wives in *England*, and other Places, till King *Edgar's* Time, as they had long after. Nuns at first did not always live in Monasteries, were under no Vow, and might Marry. The Vow was begun by *Eustathius* about the Year 320. *Marcella*, a Widow, was the first of these Nuns at *Rome*; where 'tis said Monckery was first introduc'd by *Athanasius*. The Popes found Means to make them their Tools. The more wicked they were, they were kept in the more Dependency. Pope *Nicholas*, the first who began to restrain Priests from marrying, about the Year 860, had a Spirit in him, which shew'd by what Power it was enacted, and whose Service he was employ'd about: Not God's, as will appear by his ordaining, "That no Prince, not
" the Emperor himself, his Sovereign, shou'd assist in Ecclesiastical Councils, but only receive
" Hereticks from them, and put them to Death:
" That no Layman should judge a Clergyman,
" or reason upon the Pope's Power: That no
" Magistrate shou'd have any Power over a Prelate; alledging, *That a Prelate is call'd God.*
" That all Church Service shou'd be in *Latin*, &c.

The Bishop of *Augsburgh* wrote a pathetick Letter to the Pope, setting forth the sad and mischievous Consequences of taking their Wives from the Priests. The Letter is at large in *Fox*, Vol. I. p. 177, and well worth reading. He tells Pope *Nicholas*, that his Predecessor *St. Gregory* made such a Decree, but repented of it on this Occasion; to use the old Popish Bishop's Words, as they are there translated. "Upon a certain Day, as *St. Gregory* sent to his Fish-pond to have Fish, his Servants drain'd it, and found at the Bottom 6000 Infants Heads, which were brought to him, which were taken out of the same Pond. Upon this he did greatly repent in himself his Decree touching the single Life of the Priests, which he confess'd to be the Cause of that so lamentable a Murder". Such was the Sentiment of the good German Bishop: But such was not the Sentiment of *Dunstan*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Father of Monckery; who being a great Champion for the Power of the Priesthood, is much more tenderly treated by our Church-Historians than he deserves. *Dunstan* was at first a Courtier, and expell'd the Court for *Conjuring*, as we read in *Godwin*. He retir'd, after his Disgrace, to the Abby of *Glastonbury*, where he had been bred, and became Abbot. The Ecclesiastical Writers tell you, when *Edgar*, afterwards Monarch of *England*, was born, *Dunstan* heard the Voice of an Angel in the Air, saying, *Now Peace is come to the Church in the Time of this Child, and our Dunstan*. They affirm, that *Dunstan* heard the Angels sing a Lesson in his Church at Evening Prayer; and that a Harp play'd to him by it self, the Tune of the Anthem, *Gaudent in coelis*. Thus is the History of Monckery introduc'd in *England*, and of such Stuff is it compos'd to the End. King *Edgar*
cru-

cruelly persecuted all marry'd Priests, instigated to it by *Dunstan*; and as wicked as these Times were, I might fill a Volume with Miracles and Revelations, to shew how well-pleasing the Doctrines and Practices of the Monks were to Heaven.

How tenderly does Mr. *Echard* touch this Affair, to justify the Usage the marry'd Clergy met with. We have shewn sufficiently, what the Morals of the Monks were, but it seems those of the marry'd Priests were still worse. For he tells us, *Because the Lives of the Secular Clergy became more and more luxurious and scandalous, King Edgar, in a severe Oration, openly display'd all their loose and scandalous Actions; and at length committed the Care of their Reformation to Dunstan, who reform'd them, by turning them all out to starve with their Wives and Children.*

We have told you, that *Dunstan* pretended he had a Revelation at the Birth of *Edgar*, whom these Writers represent as a Favourite of Heaven, for his favouring Monkery. But what says Bishop *Burnet*, *Hist. Ref. Vol. I.* “ *Dunstan*, and
“ some other Monks, took Advantage from the
“ Vices of King *Edgar*, to persuade him to make
“ Compensation for them: And as he made
“ Laws, in which he declar'd what Compensation
“ shou'd be made for Sins both by the Rich
“ and Poor; so, it seems, he thought the founding of Monasteries was the fittest Compensation for a King.

As to the Learning of the Friars, so much cry'd up by *Dugdale*, *Tanner*, and others, let us see what the same very Learned Prelate writes of it. *They were not only ignorant themselves, but very jealous of the Progress Learning was making at the Reformation. For Erasmus, and other Restorers of it, treating them with much Scorn, they look'd on the*
the

the Increase of Learning, as that which would much lessen them.

The Miracle of *St. Edith's Body* is so very bawdy, that none but such a Monk as *Dunstan* could have told it, had it been true.

I shall save Decencies as much as possible.

Dunstan pick't out one of *King Edgar's* Mistresses, and the Daughter of another of them, to value himself on their Miracles. That King was no less famous for his Love of Women, than for his Favour to the Monks. *William of Malmfbury*, one of the best Writers among them, says very seriously, That *the Blind, Deaf, Lame, and possess'd of Devils, were restor'd to Health by worshipping the Tomb of Elfreda*, who liv'd in Fornication with this blessed Monarch.

As to *St. Edith*, the Nun of *Wilton*, whose Mother, a Nun, *King Edgar* had also deflower'd; when she had been bury'd Thirteen Years, she appear'd to *Dunstan* in a Vision, *St. Dennis*, like a gallant Frenchman leading her by the Hand. Her Errand was to require him to cause her Body in the Church of *Wilton* to be taken up and enshrin'd, to the Intent that it might be honour'd here on Earth of her Servants, according as it is worshipp'd of her Spouse in Heaven. *Dunstan* immediately posts away to *Wilton*, and commanded the Corpse to be taken up with much Honour and Solemnity. When the Tomb was open'd, *Dunstan* took a strict View of the Body, and found only the Saint's Thumb, her Belly — I dare go no farther in *Dunstan's* Tale, remaining: The other Parts were entirely consum'd. The Meaning of which, the naked She Saint explain'd to him her self. Her Thumb was found for the much crossing she us'd with it; and her other Parts which remain'd uncorrupted, were to witness to her Abstinence and Chastity. This was not so very proper

proper a Sight for St. *Dunstan*, considering he had been once so near Fornication, that if he had not caught the Devil by the Nose with a Pair of *Tongues*, he had certainly backslided. We can't help it, if of such Matters the *Church History* of these Times is compos'd: And only desire the Reader to see how they are represented by Ecclesiastical Writers; assuring him, these Articles are taken from *William of Malmsbury*, the best Authority they have for any Thing they say.

I shall add no more of the Wickedness of St. *Dunstan*, but that by his Procurement, *Edward*, a Bastard, was crown'd King, and *Ethelred*, the rightful Heir of King *Edgar*, set aside.

I might have instanc'd a great Number of Breaches in the *Papal* Succession, which, according to Tradition, is the only direct Line from the Apostles. But these Breaches are too well known. I might also have enlarg'd on the monstrous Vices of the Popes, which were alone sufficient to prove, they had a *Divine Right* to nothing, but the tremendous Justice of an Omnipotent and offended Deity. This too I omitted for the same Reason; but cannot omit that St. *Dunstan*, whose Name is born by so many Churches, receiv'd his Archiepiscopal Pall from Pope *John XII.* Of whom, says our *Martyrologist*, "This Pope is noted to be very wicked and
"infamous; replete from his first bringing up
"with abominable Vices; a Whoremaster, an
"Adulterer, Incestuous, Libidinous, a Game-
"ster, an Extortioner, Perjur'd, a Fighter, a
"Murtherer, cruel and tyrannous. Of his Car-
"dinals, some he put out their Eyes, from some
"he cut off their Tongues, some their Fingers,
"some their Noses.

In a General Council, before the Emperor Otto I. these Articles were exhibited against him.

“ That he ordain’d Deacons in a Stable; that
 “ he committed Incest with Two of his Sisters;
 “ that playing at Dice, he called for the Devil’s
 “ Help; that for Money he made Boys Bishops;
 “ that he deflower’d Virgins and Strangers; that
 “ he turn’d his Palace of *Lateran* into a Stew;
 “ that he lay with *Stephania*, his Father’s Con-
 “ cubine; also with *Ramera*, with *Anna* and her
 “ Niece; that he put out the Eyes of Bishop
 “ *Benedict*; that he caus’d Houses to be set on
 “ Fire; that he broke open Houses; that he
 “ drank to the Devil.

The Death of this Monster was suitable to his Life: Being found in Adultery with another Man’s Wife, her Husband wounded him so, that he dy’d in Eight Days.

This Man was the Head of the Church at the Time of the Consecration of the famous *St. Dunstan*, as *Echard* calls him, and gives him afterwards the Gift of Prophecy: Nay, he assures us, that his Death was usher’d in with strange Fevers among Men, and prodigious Fluxes among Cattle. But whether such a Pope as *John XII.* had the Keys of Heaven to bestow upon him, let the Reader determine.

Much ado is made about the Godliness of *Edward the Confessor*, on whom the Monks will have it, was bestow’d the Gift of healing the King’s Evil, only the Priests have in later Days, tack’d to it the *Hereditary Right*; for which, in Truth, they are as indifferent as my self, when it serves their Interest. None can now heal, that is not Heir anointed by Father’s Side, and Mother’s Side; or if there has been the least Foreign Mixture in the Blood, or the least Interruption in

the Lineal Descent. King Charles the Second, possess'd of all these Divine Qualities necessary to working Miracles, was the most fond of this Faculty, of any Prince since the Confessor; and indeed the religious Life he led, had great Resemblance with the Manners of the Wonder-workers in the Times of Monkery. Fox tells us, some writing of King Edward the Confessor's Vision, say, *The King himself reported, that for the great Enormity and Misbehaviour of the Head Dukes, Bishops, and Abbots, the Kingdom should be given into the Hands of their Enemies.* 'Tis added, he fix'd the Time to One Hundred Years, and One Day: This is to do Honour to the Confessor, and endow him with Prophecy as well as Healing, and doubtless he had the one as well as the other. Mr. Echard says, very justly, *He was a weak and easy Prince, and too liable to be misled by the Suggestions of those about him.* His Piety to the Church was indeed extraordinary, but that to his Mother, whom on a false Accusation of Whoredom, he us'd very barbarously, was not so commendable. The chief Reason why he was Sainted, was that he never lay with his Wife, for which, if he was not impotent in Body, as well as Mind, he must dye a Sinner, and in Impenitence.

William of Malmsbury declares, that for several Years before the Arrival of the Normans, Piety, and all good Literature, became so unfashionable among the Clergy, that they cou'd scarce read Divine Service; and to understand Grammar, was next to a Miracle. The Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and observ'd not the Rules of their Orders.

The English Reader will by this Time have observ'd, that the Succession, to which the most ignorant of the Parochial Clergy pretend, is deliver'd

ver'd down to them from very ill Hands, both *Britains* and *Saxons*.

If they claim their Divine Right from *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, or from King *Lucius*, *Gildas* tells us how the *British* Bishops and Clergy were corrupted in his Time, insomuch that it call'd down the Divine Vengeance, in the loss of their Country to the *Saxons*; and it must have been a very extraordinary Miracle to preserve that Right Divine, amidst so much Wickedness and Pride.

If they derive it from *Austin* the Monk, we have seen how it began, and how it continued to the *Norman* Invasion; and if the pretended uninterrupted Succession was not too chimerical to be disputed, one should not value ones self much upon a Title which had pass'd through so many Abominations.

But as infallible as this Right is in the Title, 'tis not so in the Possession; for *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was remov'd by *William* the *Norman*, purely on Account of his being an *Englishman*; and *Lanfranc*, an *Italian*, made no Scruple of taking away both his Keys and his Revenues.

The greatest Part of *Church* History at this Time, is the warm Dispute between *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas*, a *Norman*, Archbishop of *York*, about the chief Seat in the Synagogue. Such Contests are so inconsistent with the Meekness and Humility of the Primitive Pastors, that 'tis very hard to conceive they were of the same Religion. However, Mr. *Echard* tells us, this *Lanfranc* was the most eminent Instance of Learning and Wisdom, Piety and Charity; very consistent with his Contention about taking Place.

Anselm, a Disciple of *Lanfranc*'s, succeeded him in the Archbishoprick, and began his Cure

of Souls; with quarrelling with his Benefactor and Sovereign. *William Rufus* found him out so soon, that he would have hinder'd his Consecration if he cou'd, and thought so monastical a Man as *Anselm*, who seem'd to have the Archbishoprick forc'd upon him, would easily have been persuaded to return to his Convent. But he mistook his Man; for *Anselm*, says Bishop *Godwin*, kept his Hold, and spent the first Year of his Archbishopric Dignity, in very insolent Opposition to his Master's Sovereignty, refusing to admit of any Bishop that was made by the King. This is call'd the *Right of Investiture*, and occasion'd unspeakable Trouble in the Kingdom, by the Differences between the Kings and the Popes. There's a Letter of *Anselm's* in *Fox*, Vol. 1. p. 254, about Whipping, which doubtless will be very edifying to those that will be at the Pains to read it.

Among so many disagreeable Subjects, we come to a merry one at last; For *Robertus*, who was *Anselm's* Successor, imitated him so little in his Surliness, that he lov'd a Jest and a Frolick, which got him the Sirname of *Nugax*.

John, the Pope's Legate about this Time, made a famous Declamation against Priests having Wives, and they watch'd him for it so narrowly, that he was the Night following taken a-bed with a Whore.

There's nothing more worthy the Reader's Curiosity in the Church History, during the Reigns of *Henry* the First, and King *Stephen*, but in that of *Henry* the Second, he will meet with the infamous Story of *Thomas Becket*, who was made a Saint, for his Arrogance and Rebellion towards a Prince that had been very kind to him.

One of the principal Causes of the Difference between King *Henry* and *Becket*, whom he had

made

made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was that Prelate's taking a Priest, who had been guilty of Murther, out of the Hands of the Civil Power, and doing the same by other Ecclesiastical Offenders; insomuch that *William of Newbury* tells us, there were above 100 Murtherers, and many more *Felows, Rioters, Breakers of the Peace, &c.* protected by him.

Becket could not bear to have his Authority question'd; and entering the Court in a way of Defiance, the Bishop of *Salisbury* said to him, *If the King seeing you come arm'd into his Chamber, should draw his Sword, it will be stronger than yours,* meaning the Host, which he held up in his Hand. *Becket* reply'd, *If the King's Sword cut carnally, mine cuts spiritually, and strikes down to Hell.* In Defence of such a horrid Crew, as *William of Newbury* has remember'd for us.

Among other Papers relating to his Affairs, there's a very long Letter of *Becket's* to King *Henry*, in *Fox*, which begins thus; *To his Lord and Friend Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, &c. Thomas, by the same Grace, humble Minister of the Church of Canterbury.* Thus did this rebellious Prelate dissemble with God and Man. The Bishops, his Suffragans, earnestly pray'd him for God's Sake, and the Church's Sake, to accommodate Matters with the King, but he was deaf to all Proposals of Peace. He endeavour'd to arm *France* against his Sovereign Lord, and wou'd have set all the Princes of *Chriftendom* at War with him.

As to his Assassination, be the Guilt on the Head of the Assassins; it can no more be excus'd, than *Becket's* Rebellion, Arrogance and Obstinacy.

No less than 270 Miracles were provid to be done by him, in order to his being *Sainted*; some

ridiculous, to use Mr. Fox's Words, some *monstrous*, some *vain*, some *absurd*, some *blasphemous*, some so *impudent*, that not the least Care was taken to conceal the Forgery. Notwithstanding all this, it is very plain, no Man ever affronted the Majesty of Kings, and advanc'd Ecclesiastical Tyranny more than he did. The Reader will therefore find him well spoken of in many Places; and a late Historian assures us, *The Fame of those Miracles of his was exceeding great.*

It is well known indeed, he was one of the Saints Paramount in the *Romish Church*, and has a foremost Place in the Picture of *Apostolical Succession*. Mr. Eobard, speaking of his Murder, says, *His devout committing the Cause of the Church*, that's worth minding; *Becket's defying his Sovereign*, to increase the exorbitant Power of the Ecclesiasticks, is term'd the Cause of the Church; his committing *his own Soul to God and the Saints*, &c. caus'd Compassion and Opinion to be on his Side, &c. which is right, with respect only to the *Affassination*, for no honest Opinion can side with him in his Attempts to destroy the *Constitution* of the Kingdom.

The Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* had been broach'd about 120 Years, at the Death of Henry the Second; in whose Time, Pope Alexander in a Council decreed, that no Archbishop should receive a *Pall*, without taking an Oath to support the Pope's Authority. In the Form of delivering this Pall, they *transubstantiate* the Body of St. Peter into that of the Pope, for the Words are *tradimus Tibi Palliam de Corpore beati Petri*, we deliver to you the Pall taken from the Body of St. Peter. The old Greek and Roman Pagans could not have been impos'd upon by such Nonsense and Impudence, yet, methinks, there's something in it to corroborate the Arguments which some of the

the Parochial Clergy bring for their *Succession* directly from the Apostles. This new Reason too, seems stronger than all the rest, and I am too candid to conceal it. If the Pall be taken from the very Body of *St. Peter*, and that Body has always been in Being to bear it, a Mission with all its Rights and Powers, descends to them from that Apostle, by delivery of the *Pallium*, as *Elijah's* Mantle fell upon *Elisba*.

The Religious keeping of the *Lord's-Day*, was at this Time much neglected, and though 'twas one of the darkest and most corrupted Periods of *English* History, yet good Men had even then a just Sense of the Duty of it. The Story has too much of Fiction in it, but the *Moral* is good. 'Tis said a Vision appear'd to King *Henry* the Second at *Cardiffe*, admonish'd him to amend his Life; and his first Charge to him was to command, *That upon all Sundays throughout his Dominions, there should be no buying or selling, or other worldly Business, except Preparation for Food.* The *Danish* King *Canute*, made a Law in a Time more corrupt and dark, if possible, than King *Henry's* Reign, *That there should be no Markets, Fairs, and Assemblies, or other Secular Actions practis'd on the Lord's-Day.* How does all this agree with King *Charles* the First's, and Archbishop *Laud's* Book of *Sports and Pastimes* on the *Sabbath*? for opposing which so many Pious Ministers, and others, were cruelly persecuted.

In the next Reign, that of *Richard* the First, the *English* Reader will meet with a glorious Description of the *Crusade*, or *Holy-War*, one of the most Romantick and Unwarrantable Enterprises that ever was undertaken. King *Richard* was put upon it by the *Pope*, who made it very meritorious for a Man to sacrifice his All, his Wife, Children, Estate, and Life, to recover the

Stones of the ruin'd Temple of *Jerusalem*, and the Dust and Ashes to which the Bodies of the *Christians* that dy'd there, were reduc'd. The Pope mightily encourag'd this *Errantry*, and many Hundred Thousand Men were such Fools, as to hearken to him, and be knock'd on the Head in *Palestine*, besides many Hundred Thousands that dy'd of Want and Distempers, or were drowned. These *Pilgrims* had no Call to this War, no Right to drive the Possessors out of their Country: For whatever Right the *Arabians* had to it, the *Europeans* surely had none, and the Slaughter and Ruin which attended these Expeditions, are the dreadful Effects of Bigotry, and Popish Obedience. Notwithstanding these reasonable and affecting Reflections, they will be found to make a shining Figure in the *Ecclesiastical History*: As does the Ministry of *William Bishop of Ely*, with whom *Richard* left the Government of the Kingdom, during his Absence in the *Holy-Land*. The Story of him in *Fox* is entertaining enough; when he rode, it was in such State, that he had 1500 Horse in Attendance, Chaplains, Priests, and Servants; and his Lewdness, Luxury, his Extortion, Pride and Cruelty, are all of a piece. But his Dignity and Power will so dazzle the Reader, that if he'll be guided by the Writers of such *History*, his Vices will be only like Shades in a Picture, to give a Lustre to the Lights. When the Archbishops, Bishops, and Peers, would have call'd him to Account, the Pope wrote a sharp and thundring Letter to screen him from Justice; and not only threaten'd them, but the King's Brother, afterwards King *John*, if they presum'd to meddle with his Creature.

There's nothing at all strange in this. Good Men cannot do the Pope's Work; the wicked

the

the better for him. And 'tis a melancholy Consideration, that it has been said of the Corruption of the Multitude in our own Times, the *wickedness* the better. They will be the more ripe for Mischiefs, and the more blind to the Failings of their Guides.

King *John* had not reign'd long, before *Stephen Langton* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the Pope, though that Church had elected the Bishop of *Norwich*; and here again commences a Series of Debate and Confusion, which renders the History of those Times very disagreeable. *Stephen*, as he had usurp'd the Office by the *Papal Favour*, so he still maintain'd it till the King was forc'd, for Peace-sake, to become Tributary to the Pope. This is a great Triumph over the Constitution, and the Reader will see 'tis manag'd accordingly in some Church Historians. King *John* being afterwards ashamed of his Compliance, and willing to take other Measures, it was thought best to remove him out of the Way; so he was poyson'd by *Simon* a Monk, at *Swinstead-Abbey* in *Lincolnsaire*; a very particular Account of which is in *Caxton's Fructus Temporum*, Book VII. *Caxton* wrote about 260 Years ago, and *Fox* has copy'd him almost Verbatim; yet a late Historian superciliously cautious on this Occasion, writes of it, *As to the vulgar Story of his being poyson'd by a Monk, that is no where mention'd by the ancient Writers, who were all Monks themselves, and we cannot think it worthy to trouble the Reader with it.* Thus, here's Mr. *Echard* against Mr. *Caxton* and Mr. *Fox*; and on that Foot we leave it; observing that it goes much against the Grain to bring in the Ecclesiastical Offenders at any Time Guilty.

In King *Henry* the Third's Reign, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal were so taken up with the Defence

Defence of their *Temporal* Liberties, that there was the less Room for Debate about *Spirituals*: And the next Reign, that of *Edward* the First, being active and glorious, the Church History is very barren; for the Reader will find the ambitious Priests take Advantage of the Weakness of Princes, and seldom carry their Point under a wise and valiant King.

From the Invasion of the *Normans*, to the Reign of *Edward* the Third, the Kings of *England* had hardly ever been free from Trouble given them by the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, set on by the Pope; and as they increas'd their Power, so the Impunity of the Clergy under their Protection, render'd them equally lewd and insolent.

When *John Wickliff* began to preach against the Pride, Avarice, and Wickedness of the Pope, and his Creatures, his Lectures made him popular even at *Oxford*, where he was *Professor of Divinity*, and of such Estimation with the King, that he sent him with the Bishop of *Bangor*, and other Persons of Eminence, in an Embassy to *Italy*.

When he had for some Time expos'd the Usurpations of the Bishops of *Rome*, and the wicked Lives of the Monks, the latter took the Alarm, and *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, turn'd him out of his *Professorship*. *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, the King's Fourth Son, and the Lord *Henry Percy*, were *Wickliff's* Patrons. And *William* of *Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, to be reveng'd of *John* of *Gaunt*, reported he was an Impostor, that his Mother was deliver'd of a Daughter, which being overlaid, she, to prevent her Husband's Displeasure, got a Man-Child to be put in its Place, and bred up as the King's. So far did this proud Prelate's Resentment carry him against a Prince of the Blood, the Son of his Sovereign, for defending a religious worthy
Divine,

Divine, against the Tyranny of the powerful, revengeful, and cruel Archbishop *Sudbury*. As soon as *Wickliff* touch'd upon the Sacraments, he was summon'd to appear before that Archbishop, and other Bishops, at *St. Paul's Church*. The Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Piercy*, and several other Persons of Quality, went with him; and hot Words pass'd between *Courtney*, Bishop of *London*, and the Duke; for which the City Mob were so offended with the latter, that they assaulted the *Savoy*, his Palace, and the Duke removing to *Kennington*, till the Rage of the Rabble was spent; Mr. *Richard* tells us, *By this Outrage the People let him see what he, and the Lord Piercy, were to have expected, if they could have seiz'd them.* But he does not tell you that the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, another of the King's Sons, and the Lord *Piercy*, brought a Bill into Parliament to punish the City for not punishing the Rioters; and how to accommodate Matters, the Citizens were oblig'd to carry a Taper of Wax, by way of Penance, in Honour of the Duke. Such mortifying Incidents are enough to discourage future Riots, which were of so signal Use in the late Reign to a seditious Priest and Party, abusing still the sacred Name of the Church.

In *Richard* the Second's Reign, the same Author informs us, the Martial Bishop of *Norwich*, a very odd Epithet for a Bishop, being drawn in by Pope *Urban* to preach a *Crusade*, and to serve as General against *Clement* the *Antipope*, obtain'd a Fifteenth from the Parliament, though most of the Nobility were great Opposers of this Expedition. He adds, "With the considerable Force he rais'd, he took *Graveline*, *Newport*, *Dunkirk*, and beat 30000 of the *Antipope's* Assistants at Sea. As ill as it became this Bishop to act the Soldier, yet being a Churchman, the best Face is put

put upon it; and though at last he was forc'd to return without a Triumph, yet the *Historian* does not approve of the Reception he met with. *What* prov'd harder to him than his want of Supplies, the King, upon Pretence that he had not exactly obey'd his Orders and Commands, for a while seiz'd upon all his Temporalities. One would think it was only for taking too many Towns that this ill Fortune befel him; whereas, in Truth, it was for levying and transporting an Army. Bishop *Gadwin* represents the Thing fairly, "Being a better
 " Butcher than a Shepherd, he procures the Pope's
 " Authority for levying an Army, which (not,
 " withstanding the King's Command to the con-
 " trary, for disobeying whereof, his Temporal-
 " ties, after his Return, were detain'd from him
 " Two whole Years,) he transported into the Low
 " Countries, out of the Kingdoms of France and England

So that Mr. *Echard's* not exactly obeying the King's Orders, amounts to his raising an Army, and making War abroad without his Sovereign's Consent.

The same Author does not omit the Judgment with which the Monkish Writers make the Death of *Wickliff* to be attended: As a Punishment for his Heretical Sermons, the Use of his Tongue was taken from him. If Mr. *Echard* believ'd this Judgment to be a Monkish Invention, he might have given us a Hint of it. But I have taken Notice, that *Wickliff's* plain Dealing with the Prelates and Priests of his Time, has lost him the good Word of certain Churchmen, who, nevertheless call themselves Protestants.

Thus have we run over the most material Passages of Ecclesiastical History, from the Conversion of the Britains, to *Wickliff's* setting up to convert the Papists. By material, I mean those that are most useful to our English Reader, which

will

will instruct him how to judge of Things, when the Sacred Name of the Church is at any Time abus'd to countenance Bigotry and Sedition, and set the Priesthood in an Independency on the State.

Church Historians.

Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. Exp. W. Fox, Vol. I. Fuller's Church-History. Hollinshed.

CHAP. VII.

Of the History of England, from the Death of Edward the Third, to that of Queen Elizabeth.

IN this Period the English Reader had need be on his Guard, or he will be deceiv'd by the greatest Part of our Historians. He will find them extenuating as much as possible, the Male-Administration of King Richard the Second, to give an Opinion of Injustice in the Proceedings against him, and every where reproaching the Title of the House of Lancaster, for being founded on a Parliamentary Right. Mr. Echard tells us, Richard the Second, and his private Council, did usually change or abolish all Things, which had been establish'd by the whole Nobility and Commons.

He turn'd out the Lord Chancellor Scroop, who had been made so by the special Approba-
tion

A. D.
1377.
Rich. II.

tion of Parliament, for refusing to affix the Great Seal to his exorbitant Grants. He created Robert de Vere Duke of Ireland, and gave him the Profits, as well as Government of that Kingdom. Upon a Representation from the Lords of these and the like Grievances, he reply'd, *He would call in his Cousin, the King of France, to receive Advice and Assistance from him.* The Answer of the Lords will explain to the honest English Reader, on what Foundation the Principles of Liberty are built. "We have an ancient Constitution, say they, not very long since put in Execution, that if the King, through Evil Counsel, Obstinacy, Contempt of his Subjects, or by any other irregular Causes, should alienate himself from his People, and refuse to govern by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and abandon himself to his *Arbitrary Will*; that from that Time it should be lawful for his People by their full and free Consent, to *Depose* that King from his Throne, and set upon it another of the Royal Family.

Thomas of Woodstock, the King's Uncle, and Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, were the Persons deputed to deliver the Lords Representation, and receive his Answer, to which they return'd this bold Reply: A plain Proof that our *Revolutional Constitution* was ancient 300 Years ago.

A Parliament being call'd, the King comply'd, and chang'd his Ministry, yet at the same Time consented to a Conspiracy to murder his Uncle; and not long after revok'd and abrogated all the Proceedings of that Assembly; which oblig'd the Lords to stand on their Defence, and the King again seem'd to comply with their Demands.

Another Parliament was held, who brought the Betrayers of the Rights and Liberties of the People to Justice. And among the rest, the Bishop

shop of *Chichester* was banish'd to *Ireland*. Mr. *Echard* informs us, this Convention was term'd the *Universal Parliament*; though besides banishing the Bishop, and confiscating the Estate of the Archbishop of *York*, there were not above Seven or Eight that suffer'd. *Tresilian*, the Chief Justice, was hang'd; and he richly *deserv'd* it, being one of the principal Advisers of that wicked Advice to destroy the chief Lords, and to command the Sheriffs to return no Members for the Parliament, but such as the King and Council approv'd.

The King's last Compliance lasted not long. He took away the Liberties of the City of *London*, and began a terrible Persecution against the *Wicklivists*. He extorted excessive Sums from his Subjects by Loans; and, as he was advis'd, pack'd a Parliament. The Bishop of *Exeter* open'd the Session with a Speech, declaring the Royal Power to be the only real Power. And nothing now is heard but Executions, Imprisonments, and Confiscations. The Law was declar'd to be in the Pleasure of the Prince. The *English* Reader must expect such Tragedies, whenever the Ministers of Tyrannical Princes can pack such an Assembly. By these and many more illegal and cruel Practices, the King became so universally hated, says *Echard*, that great Numbers design'd to Rebel. These Writers of History cannot be brought to give a lawful Resistance any other Name than the foul one of Rebellion, of which the honest *English* Reader will be aware.

While King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, landed in *Yorkshire*, and soon made himself Master of the Kingdom. At *London*, says our *Historian*, he was attended with flattering Crowds, and entertain'd with extravagant Praises. Soon after having

ving taken the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Sir *John Busby*, and Sir *Henry Green*, Three of King *Richard's* most wicked Counsellors at *Bristol*, Mr. *Erhart* adds, *He cut off their Heads without Mercy.* But when he had the King in his Possession, and in his March to *London* was met by the Recorder, many Knights and Esquires, with a Petition to cut off the King's Head too; he would by no Means hearken to such a Piece of Villany; telling them, he should be left to the Judgment of the Parliament, who depos'd him, and plac'd *Henry of Lancaster* upon the Throne.

A. D.
1399.
Henry IV.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* open'd the next Session with a long Speech in Praise of the new King, and justifying the Proceedings of the last Convention; to which there were few Opponents: Only *Thomas Merks*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, is mention'd, and extoll'd as a Champion for Arbitrary Power. Mr. *Richard* calls him a Person of great Learning and Spirit; and adds, "He bravely stood up for the Power and Authority of the Kings of England; and by several Arguments drawn from the Constitution of the Nation from History and Scripture evinc'd, that King *Richard* cou'd not be legally depos'd, &c. The quite contrary of which from the Constitution of the Nation and History, will be evinc'd from the Beginning of this Treatise to the End. He continues; "He farther display'd the innumerable Mischiefs that usually attended and followed such unjustifiable Proceedings". If these Proceedings were unjustifiable, those at our late Revolution were the same; and 'tis with this View, that such Encomiums are given to *Merks* and his Harangue. The Bishop was confin'd a little while, and then had his Liberty; but most ungratefully enter'd immediately into a treasonable Conspiracy to make War on the Person of King *Henry*. I will

will not say to assassinate him ; but 'twas to take hold of him at a Tournament to which the Conspirators invited him at Oxford. The Plot being discover'd, they broke out into open Rebellion; and *these Men of Honour and Conscience*, as the Historian calls them, cloath'd one *Magdalen* in Royal Robes, and easily deceiv'd the Multitude with an Impostor for King *Richard*. The Rebels not succeeding the Bishop of *Carlisle* among others was apprehended; and the Pope himself was so asham'd of him, that he remov'd him from the Bishoprick, and put *William de Strickland* into his See.

The last mention'd Author assures us, " King *Henry* cou'd enjoy no true Peace nor Satisfaction". And what follows agrees exactly with Things in Remembrance. " Conspiracies in *Embryo*, all supported by Calumnies and Forgeries. His Actions were traduc'd in Libels. He was wounded in his Honour, and endanger'd in his Person". The first that felt the Hand of Justice was a Priest of *Ware*; the next was a Priest too, *Walter Baldock*, Prior of *Laund*; and the next another Priest, a Friar *Minor*, who said he would fight for King *Richard* to the last Minute of his Life. This small Plot was follow'd by a greater. The Chiefs of it were the Three *Piercies*, who had been very instrumental in deposing *Richard*, and now rebell'd, because, to use the same Historian's Words, *they thought, perhaps, they had done unjustly in setting up King Henry*. The Historian is not sure they thought so, and himself therefore must think so for them. These are Flings at the *Revolutional Right*, by which all our Kings and Queens have held the Crown since the Abdication of King *James*. The Reader will meet with many of them in modern History, and by this Time

will have seen with what Reason and Modesty they come from these Writers.

There happen'd a very pleasant Thing in this Reign of *Henry IV.* which shews us how the Monkish Writers treated all Persons and Things that stood in their Way.

There was an Act brought into Parliament, against the Temporalities of the Clergy, which the King himself would not assent to, and it ended in nothing but the *infamous Memory of the Projectors*, to use Mr. *Echard's* Words. Notwithstanding which, the *Ecclesiasticks* were so offended with the Attempt only, though Religion it self was not the least concern'd in it, that they abus'd this *Representative* with Slander; and for offending them, impos'd on them the *Nick-Name* of Lack-Learning Parliament, and it is carefully preserv'd by our Historian. The Truth is, this Parliament had as much Learning as any of the preceding ones; and consisted of Members, who had been chosen before, and were chosen after, as I have examin'd the Matter in *Prynne's Calendar of Parliamentary Writs*, and *Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria*: but because they would have reduc'd the Revenues of the Clergy to more moderate Bounds than half of the Lands of *England*, those of the Peers excepted, Mr. *Echard* copying after the Fryars, has set this Mark upon them.

The Fact is false, and yet the whole Body of Representatives is vilify'd as so many Blockheads and Scoundrels; such is their *good Sense*, and *good Manners*, I will not say Moderation and Charity; for my Endeavour is to shew, we are not to expect it from them.

A. D. 1412.
Henry V. King *Henry* the Fifth, who succeeded his Father *Henry* the Fourth, by Virtue only of his *Parliamentary Right*, prov'd the most powerful and glorious

glorious Prince of his Age; and the Priests were so apprehensive of the Justness, as well as Greatness of his Genius, that they inspir'd him with a Thirst of Glory, which added almost all France to his Dominions. 'Tis own'd they had themselves in View, and put him upon Foreign Conquests, to take him from pursuing the Design attempted by the *Parliamentum Indoctum*. As Virtuous and Victorious as this King was, as Pious and Just, the Church Historians will not forgive him the Possession of the Crown by any other Hold than what the Oxford Decree confirms; and therefore Mr. Echard observes, upon his dying in the Flower of his Youth; *Indeed there seems to be something of the more immediate Hand of Providence in it, which now began to chastise the Progeny of King Henry the Fourth.* One of the boldest Reflections on the *Parliament Title* I ever met with; and it shou'd be the constant Prayer of all good Subjects to avert the Royal Progeny, which are the Hopes and Safety of this Kingdom, from the Malice conceal'd in such dangerous and groundless *Innuendo's*.

Way is made by the same Historian, in the Reign of Henry the Sixth, to set up again the *Divine Right* of Lineal Succession in Opposition to the *Parliamentary*, which is the Foundation of our present happy Establishment.

A. D.
1422.
Henry VI.

Sir John Mortimer being executed for Treason, There arose no small Murmurings among the People, he being Cousin to Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, the nearest Heir to the Crown, whose great Estate descended to Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, Son and Heir to that Earl of Cambridge who was beheaded for one of the vilest Treasons an Englishman can be guilty of, to betray his Country to France. The Earl of March was Lord of Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, a

Title which has not since been very popular. At that Time the Disaffected by *Wigmore* understood *Mortimer's* Heirship; and a *Weaver* of *Abington*, rebelling, call'd himself *Jack Sharp* of *Wigmore's* Lands. He was soon suppress'd, taken, and hang'd; upon which *Mr. Richard* thus politickly Comments, *It is to be wonder'd the Council of State under King Henry, bearing that Title so often glanc'd at, should not have provided better against the Weaver of Abington. But the Byes and Hearts of the wisest are blind, when God reserv'd a secret Scourge for the Interruption the House of Lancaster had given to Hereditary Succession.* With this and many other such Complaints on the *Revolutional Right*, did the Author presume to address his Book to His Majesty.

The first who was set up in Favour of that *Hereditary Right*, was one *Jack Cade*, a Gentleman's Servant of *Suffex*, who having murder'd a Woman with Child, fled to *Brance*. Upon his Return, some Years after, he call'd himself *Mortimer*, and drew a great Rabble after him. He was instructed to use this Name to found the Inclinations of the People towards the Earl of *Cambridge's* Title, as Heir to *Mortimer*, Heir to *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, by *Philippa* his Daughter, who marry'd the Lord *Mortimer*, and the Duke of *Clarence* was elder Brother to *John of Gaunt*, Great Grandfather to *Henry the Sixth*.

Cade's Fortune was the same as the *Weaver's* of *Abington*. He was soon routed, taken, and hang'd.

Had the Historian reserv'd his Political Reflections till he came to the Earl of *Cambridge*, made Duke of *York* by the King against whom he rebell'd, they would have been more a propos; and one might wonder why, instead of providing better against the Mischief he did, King *Henry's*

Coun-

Council should put Arms into his Hand, by making him Duke of York, Regent of France, &c. His first Pretence was only to redress Grievances; and upon King Henry's Compliance with his Demands, he renew'd the Oath he had formerly taken with great Solemnity, in St. Paul's Church, *to be a true, faithful, and obedient Subject; and the Breach of his Oaths, says the Historian, does manifestly display the highest Degree of Perjury, Treachery, and Treason, for which Crimes his Father was justly executed.* In such a Channel runs the Divine Right of Lineal Descent, for interrupting of which, the above-mention'd Author has shew'd down his Judgments on the Royal Progeny of Lancaster.

The Divisions at Home lost all France. No Matter; in the Language of these Hereditary Right Men. They spoke in the same Tone after the Treaty of Utrecht.

We refer the Reader to the Histories, for an Account of the Wars between the Two Houses of Lancaster and York, observing that the latter to set up the Title by Succession, renounc'd, forsworn, and after Threescore Years Alienation, overwhelm'd this Kingdom with Blood, slaughter'd 100000 Men, ruin'd many Thousand Noblemen and Gentlemen's Families, and brought this Nation, which under the Henry's of Lancaster, was the most powerful and renown'd in Europe, to be the Reproach and Contempt of her Neighbours.

Of the Three Kings the House of York produc'd; The one, Edward the Fourth, is chiefly noted for being Handsome and Amorous: The other, Edward the Fifth, was a Child: And the last, Richard the Third, a Monster in Body and Mind; though Buck, and others, have endeavour'd to make him upright in both. Mr. Etchard,

A. D.
1460.
Edw. IV.
A. D.
1483.
Edw. V.
A. D.
1483.
Rich. III.

and the Church Writers, fondly doat on the Title of these Princes, though the last made his way to it by Murder. And tho' one would think so long Possession, and such glorious Reigns in the House of *Lancaster*, should have wean'd them, yet they cannot speak well of the *Revolution Right*, whenever it comes in their Way. Sometimes 'tis a *litigious* Title, sometimes *Usurpation*, never *Rightful* and *Lawful*, as all good *Englishmen* now acknowledge it to be. These Princes have been long reduc'd to their original Dust, and can neither give them Preferment and Dignities, nor take them away from them. This might be thought sufficient to make them indifferent in a Matter so remote; but the Case is nearer than the Reader was perhaps aware of.

A. D.
1485.
Hen. VII.

The Title of the House of *Lancaster*, and that of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and his present Majesty King *George*, are the very same. Whatever Dirt is flung at the *Lancastrian* Right, is aim'd at the *Revolutional*; and to advance the Lineal Descent in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, how many Impostors were set up against him, one after another? What Disturbance did the Priests and Disaffected give him? And rather than obey a King, who despis'd the *Jure Divino* Title, they would have plac'd first a *Baker's* Son, then the Son of a *Jew*, and at last a *Cobler's* Son, *Simnel*, *Perkin*, and *Wilford*, on the Throne of *England*.

Henry the Seventh triumph'd over all his Enemies, and left a flourishing People, and flowing Treasury to his Son. The Reader will take Pleasure to observe in his History, the vain Attempts of the Impostor *Perkin*, who was own'd to be the Right Heir of *Richard* Duke of *York*, by that Prince's Aunt, *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*, and was supported by other Sort of Powers and

Per-

Persons, than the Impostor of our Days, and yet ended his Pretensions at Tyburn.

The Reign of *Henry the Eighth*, is introduc'd by Mr. *Echard* with the Character of that King, and his nice and learned Education, his Father having design'd to make a Bishop of him, before the Death of Prince *Arthur*; which is as false in Fact, as in Politicks, though frequently asserted; and why so much is made of it, one may easily conceive.

A. D.

1509.

Hcn. VIII.

Bishop Burnet says, *His Father had given Orders, that both his elder Brother and he, should be well instructed in Matters of Knowledge, not with any Design to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, for he had made small Progress, when his Brother Arthur dy'd.*

The Affair of the *Divorce* embroil'd the King with the Pope, and usher'd in the *Reformation*.

Upon the Fall of *Wolsey*, the House of Commons prepar'd several Bills against the Corruptions of the Clergy, who, says our Historian, *abhor'd the Precedent of their intermeddling in Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and the Bishop of *Rochester* said, *it flow'd all from want of Faith*; as if there was any manner of Coherence between *Christian Belief*, and the Corruptions of the Clergy.

The King met with little Opposition to the Measures he took in abolishing the Papal Tyranny in *England*. The most was from the superstitious Priests, who suborn'd the Nun of *Kent* to pretend to Inspiration, and utter Political Prophecies against the Government. *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, before-mention'd, was one of that Cheat's Accomplices, and the credulous as well as zealous *Sir Thomas More*, another. Their Folly and Treason deserv'd the Reward they both met with on a Scaffold: Nevertheless, the Reader will find our Ecclesiasticks in so great Admiration of the Bi-

shop's Piety, and *More's* Learning, that they have no Room to animadvert on the Iniquity of this Action. Mr. *Echard* is very angry that the Bishop had neither Meat nor Cloaths in Prison, suitable to his Dignity, and the Character he deriv'd from the Divine Fishermen, our Saviour's Disciples. But doubtless both the Dress and Diet were very suitable to the Place, and his treasonable Practices. I hint these Trifles, to shew how unwilling these Men are to give Offence to a Character which is indelible; for no Question but our late Bishop of *Rocheſter* looks upon himself to be as much an Apostolical Bishop in *Flanders*, as he was in *England*.

The Historian takes Notice, that King *Henry* the Eighth's new Title of *Head of the Church*, increas'd, and swell'd his imperious Temper, which was also sower'd by the traiterous Practices of the Monks and Fryars, who at *Confession* instill'd such Principles into their Penitents, as broke out into several *Rebellions*. And the Effect of *Confessions*, to work the wicked Purposes of Confessors, is the true Cause of reviving the Tenent of *Auricular Confession*, which *Bret*, and other Ecclesiasticks of his Stamp and Merit, have of late been broaching.

Though Sir *Thomas More* would not swear to the King's *Supremacy*, for which he is in so good Terms with some Church-Historians, yet he made such a Declaration to *Rich*, the Solicitor-General, who visited him in the *Tower*, as will lose him the Favour of all those that think as the *Oxford* Men did in their *Decree*. A King, says he, may be made or depos'd by Parliament; but the Parliament could not determine the *Supremacy*, it being a Point of Religion. *More* and *Fisher*, besides their being concern'd with the Nun of *Kent*, who was attainted of *Treason* in Parliament, refus'd

fus'd to conform to the Act which made it Treason to declare against that *Supremacy*. Thus they were guilty of Two Treasons, and being try'd, convicted, and executed; Mr. *Echard* will have it, that the *Execution of these Two great Men, chiefly upon a Point of Conscience, may be justly reckon'd among the Blemishes of King Henry's Reign*. All Endeavours were us'd to bring them to a right Sense of their Duty to comply with the Laws, *which, says he, they could not do in Conscience*; but they could in Conscience enter into a Plot with an *Impostor* to destroy the King, to whom they would not swear as *Supreme Head of the Church*; what less could they mean by encouraging her damnable Prediction, that *the King should not live a Month, if he marry'd Mrs. Boleyn*. And why has Mr. *Echard* such extraordinary Compassion for them, when he tells us himself, with his wonted way of appropriating Judgments, "That he could not but observe the Justice of Heaven, in thus retaliating their own Severities to others: For as *Fisher* grievously persecuted the Preachers of *Luther's* Doctrine, so *More's* Hand was heavy upon them, as long as he had Power, and he shew'd them no Mercy, but the Extremity of the Law.

But *Sanicroft*, and his *Nonjuring* Brethren, having been depriv'd of their Bishopricks and Benefices, for refusing to take the Oaths to King *William*, upon which it was said they could not do it in Conscience, though the whole Body of the Church of *England*, with a very few Exceptions, had done it; these History-Writers omit no Occasion of entering their Protest against putting the Laws in Execution on Men of their Zeal and Obstinacy.

When the Reader comes to the tragical Story of *Anna Boleyn*, whose Death appears plainly to

be one of the most bloody Acts of *Tyranny* ever practis'd by a cruel King, he will find the Historian looking back on the *Divorce* of Queen *Katharine*, to take off his Compassion from that murder'd Princess: This shews us what Authorities they affect to make use of. The Papists are always reproaching the Reformation with the adulterous Marriage of King *Henry*, and Queen *Anna Boleyn*, as the Groundwork on which the Superstructure was rais'd. No Protestant Writer, that was not Popishly affected, has spoken dishonourably of the Divorce, or the Marriage that follow'd it, which was justify'd by the Judgment of almost all the Universities in *Europe*, and of all the most eminent Theologues, the Pope's Creatures only excepted; but the *Romish* Authors have written, as *Dryden* in his *Hind and Panther*, an impudent Lampoon on our Church.

*Her House not ancient, whatsoe're Pretence,
Her Clergy Heralds make in her Defence:
A Second Century not half way run,
Since the new Honours of her Blood begun.
A Lion, old, obscene, and furious made
By Lust, compress'd her Mother in a Shade;
Then by a Left-hand Marriage weds the Dame,
Cov'ring Adult'ry with a specious Name.
So Schism begot, &c.*

So severely are the Reform'd of the Church of *England* handled by their inveterate Enemies the *Papists*, who will not allow the Continuance of the *Apostolical Succession*, after our Church fell off from that of *Rome*, but leave her as the *Laureat* does in a *Schism*: Yet so fond are our *Parochial* Clergy of that Heavenly Right to Earthly Emoluments, that rather than lose it, they will ravish it from the *Romish Pontiff*, and deny any Interruption

ruption in the Chain from the Apostles Days to their own. To keep the *Romanists* in a good Humour, some of these Authors flatter them on their *Divine Right*, and imitate their Reproaches of the *Reformation*, on Account of the *Sacrilege* and the *Divorce*. Mr. *Echard*, speaking of Queen *Anna Boleyn's* being beheaded, reflects thus ; The same Act that was made for her Marriage, was now turn'd to her Ruin, *which had too near Resemblance with a Punishment from Heaven*. The great Malignity of the Popish Party against this good Queen, was for her favouring the Reformers. Their chief Writers, Cardinal *Pole*, and *Paulus Jovius*, blacken her as much as Malice and Invention can do it. But *Fox*, and the Historians of the *Reform'd* Religion, especially Dr. *Burnet*, sufficiently clear her Reputation from all Blemish ; and indeed there's so little Probability in the Story, that one wonders how any *Protestant* Writers can have the least Complacency for the Inventors of it.

The Clamours of the People against the *Sacrilege* of dislodging the Monks, are repeated with equal Fury by some of them. " Their Houses
" and Revenues, says *Echard*, were dedicated to
" God and his Saints. Such as *Dunstan* and
Becket. " Both the Regular and Secular Cler-
" gy were so sensibly concern'd in these Things,
" that they us'd all Methods to influence the
" People. For the Reader must know, that *Passive Obedience* is never a Doctrine with these Men, but when they have some Turn to serve by it. They us'd all Means to inspire Heat and Spirit into them, other Words for *Sedition* and *Rebellion*, which had the pernicious Effect intended. A desperate Rebellion broke out in the North, and ended in the Execution of the chief REBELS.

As scrupulous as many of the modern Clergy are of allowing the King's *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, they will find their Reverend Fathers in Henry the Eighth's Reign, even those that had shewn their Zeal in the bloody Act for the *Six Articles*, were less bigotted to the Pope than themselves. If the *Supremacy* is not in the King, 'tis in the Pope, and no Law of ours cou'd reach him. But these Reverend Fathers took out Commissions, by which they acknowledg'd that *All Jurisdictions, Civil and Ecclesiastical, flow'd from the King, and that they only exercis'd it at the King's Courtesy*; and as they held their *BISHOPRICKS* of his Bounty, so they were ready to deliver them up to him, when he should think fit to call for them.

It will easily be perceiv'd that this extirpates all *Apostolical Succession*, all *indelible Character*, and makes them what *Echard* calls them, the King's *Bishops*. That inhuman Wretch *Bonner*, set an Example to the rest on this Occasion. Henry the Eighth being disgusted with his Wife *Anne* of *Cleves* at Sight, gave up his faithful Servant *Cromwell* to the Rage of his Enemies, the whole *Romish Faction*. He was attainted in Parliament, for Crimes very badly prov'd, and lost his Head on *Tower-Hill*. He is known to have been the chief Promoter of suppressing *Monasteries*, and therefore the Reader will meet with a mixt Character of him. For though the Historians cannot deny him to have had extraordinary Qualities, and to have been an able and faithful Minister, yet, says Mr. *Echard*, he cannot be excus'd in Two Particulars, His too boldly dipping his Hands in *Sacrilege*. I have put the Reader in mind before of the *Technical Terms* us'd by these History Writers. *Sacrilege*, in a Lay Sense, is *Thievery*; and if an Act of Parliament allow'd

of

of a Man's taking a Thing, How could it afterwards be call'd *Theft*? The Second Charge against *Cromwell*, was his too ready joining in condemning Persons unheard, the last of which proved his own Fate; which seems more like the Vengeance of Heaven, than the Punishment of Men. Thus has this Author taken off Two of the chief Promoters of the Reformation, Queen *Anna Boleyn*, and *Thomas Cromwell*, by the Strokes of Divine Vengeance.

It will be absolutely necessary for the honest English Reader to compare *Fox's* Account of the Lord *Cromwell's* Concern in suppressing of Convents, with this Passage. For as he is by Mr. *Echard* charg'd with Sacrilege, a damnable Sin, he is by Mr. *Fox* made a Saint in Heaven, and for the very same Thing, suppressing of Monasteries. It will be further necessary for him to acquaint himself with *Fox's* true State of the Matter, before he reads *Camden*, *Dugdale*, *Tanner*, &c. especially *Dugdale*, who tells us the Lord *Cromwell* dy'd unheard, and little pity'd: So bold an Untruth, that even the King himself express'd his Pity in an extraordinary Manner; and in *Echard's* Words, lamented his Death when it was too late. The Miseries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of Norfolk, and his Family afterwards, were look'd upon as so many Scourges of Providence, &c. Thus, according to him, were they scourg'd by Providence, for being the Instruments of Divine Vengeance. These Dealers in barbarous Gothick Antiquities, mourn daily over the Stones and Rubbish of those pious Foundations. The living Travellers miss the Monks and Nuns in all our Roads, and the Dead their Masses and Charms. The Cry against the Impiety and Lewdness of the Recluses of both Sexes, was almost general before they were unfrock'd; but the pulling

ling down of good Houses, which at first was call'd *Unkennelling of them*, as is usual in *England*; rais'd such a Ferment in the Rabble, as was work'd up to Rebellion. It has been an Observation of Foreigners, that the *English* hunt a Criminal to Justice like so many *Blood-Hounds*, and when he is carry'd to Execution, they weep over him like so many Children.

Dugdale has a long Harangue in his *Warwickshire*, against the Barbarity and Injustice of the Acts of Parliament for demolishing Abbeys, Nunneries, &c. and with particular Malice reflects on the fair Dealings of the Visitors, upon whose Reports these Proceedings commenc'd. *The Truth is, that there was no Omission of any Endeavours that can well be imagin'd to accomplish these Surrenders, for so subtilly did the Visitors act their Parts, &c.* As if they had been a Company of Knaves set to work to cheat the Religious of their Lands and Houses. The List of the Commissioners will be the best Answer; and the Names of *Paulet, Mildmay, Petre, Southwell, Fitzherbert, Pollard, Gage, &c.* prove the Malice and Falshood of his Infimation. They were Gentlemen of some of the most noble Families in *England*; and he puts the worst Construction possible on their Enquiries, while he makes what Excuses he can for the gross Enormities of the Fryars and Nuns; a large Book of which was collected by the Visitors, and is sunk by *Dugdale, Tanner*, and all the Advocates for *Monkery*.

Why do the Lovers of Antiquity so much seek after, and admire the Antiquities of *Rome*, but because they are perfect Models of *Sculpture* and *Design*, because they give Light to the Histories of the most glorious Ages of the World, and not because they are broken Stones and Mortar? The *Antiquities* of our Monasteries are as barbarous as the

the Ages which produc'd them. Their best Histories a parcel of Legends and Fictions, Miracles and Visions, Dreams and Revelations. What is best among them, is transplanted into Histories, better digested, and of better Credit. There has been more useful Learning discover'd since the Reformation, than in all the Centuries preceding it, since the Birth of our Saviour; and the Monkish Advocates are not so solicitous for polite Literature, of which they have little Taste, as for groping in Records that speak of the Power and Grandeur of the Church, for which the Monks were a *Standing Force*, as I have already observ'd, always in Pay, if not in Arms.

The Poison infus'd by Camden, Dugdale, &c. into the Minds of the People, concerning the Sanctity of the Monks, and their Houses, and the great Loss the Nation suffer'd by it, will be expell'd, by reading Dr. Burnet's most excellent History of the *Reformation*; a Work which deserves the uncommon Honour it met with; the Reverend Author having the Thanks of the *Parliament* for writing it; and yet he has been charg'd by some *Academicks*, for want of *Candour and Ingenuity*, Endowments that never yet were pretended to be acquir'd in a College. *The Abbey Chronicles*, says the learned and pious Historian, were written by Men who were more credulous than judicious, and so they are often more particular in the Recital of Trifles, than of important Affairs; and an invincible Humour of Lying, when it might raise the Credit of their Order or House, runs through all their Manuscripts: Yet you find the Ecclesiastical Writers groan under the Calamity of losing them: And indeed some of them have so little good Learning, that they may well envy the little the Monks had.

The

A. D.
1546.
Edw. VI.

The Reign of *Edward the Sixth* was so short, and so full of *Church History*, that we must again refer the Reader to *Dr. Burnet's*, where he will find no such terrible Description of the demolishing of Churches to build *Somerset-House*, as he will meet with in *Mr. Echard*.

The Duke of *Somerset*, Protector of the King and Kingdom, was a zealous Reformer, and has been treated by the Papists, as they were wont to treat such as oppose their Superstition, with Falshood and foul Language.

To erect this Fabrick, the Historian tells you, "He pull'd down the *Virgin Mary's Church*, and "Three Bishops Houses in the *Strand*: He resolv'd also to pull down *St. Margaret's Westminster*, but the Mob rose upon the Workmen, who remov'd to *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and demolish'd a regular Cloyster, Two Chapels, and a fair Charnel-House, to carry on the Building in the *Strand*, leaving the Bones of the dead Bodies to be bury'd in the Fields". I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether such Malice could come originally from any one but an inveterate Papist. He goes on, "Lastly, the Steeple, and the greatest Part of the Church of *St. John of Jerusalem*, near *Smithfield*, was pull'd down for the Stones. And after all, it was unaccountably strange, that having demolish'd Two Churches, Two Chapels, and Three Episcopal Houses, to build one Palace, there should be no particular Room erected for Religious Worship. The Episcopal Houses belong'd to the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Litohfield*, and *Landaff*, and he bargain'd with those Bishops for them. The Order of the *Knights of Jerusalem* was abolish'd, and their Church had the same Fate with other Superstitious Houses. This History of *Somerset-House*, is introduc'd somewhat whimsically. We had been just

just told of the Breach between the Lord Protector and his Brother the Lord Admiral, who was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. The Protector, says the Historian, *having now lost the chief Support of his House, design'd to repair that Ruin, by erecting a magnificent Palace.* As if the Death of a Brother could be repair'd by building a House; and what Support could such a Brother be, whom Two or Three Lines before, he characteriz'd as a *Bubble, swell'd by every small Breath, and broken by every great Blast?* I have avoided reflecting on Sentiments, when they are not *Political*, to save Room, or I might have fill'd another Volume with *Criticisms* like these.

As to the building *Somerset-House*, had the Duke really committed such Devastation and Sacrilege as is pretended, is it not likely that his Enemies wou'd have insert'd it in the Third Article of the Charge against him; where Mention is made of his *sumptuous and costly Palaces?* But there's not one word of his pulling down Churches, Chapels, Charnel-Houses, &c. to do it. And Mr. Echard owns, he was not charg'd with Cruelty, Rapine, Bribery, or Sacrilege. In which he plainly contradicts himself. For he had charg'd him with Sacrilege, in charging him with demolishing Churches and Chapels for his own private Use, and his sacrilegious Attempts upon Bishops Lands. His own Words. Tho' he allows him to have been a Person of extraordinary Virtues, of great Candor and eminent Piety; always a Promoter of Justice, and a Patron of the Oppressed. Yea when he was beheaded, he informs us, his Punishment was believ'd to be more the Hand of Heaven. On so virtuous, so pious, so just a Man!—Here's Coherence and Consistency! Mr. Fox closes his Character of him quite otherwise, in his old way. “He was of a gentle Disposition, not coveting

“ to be reveng’d, more apt and ready to be de-
 “ ceiv’d than to deceive. His ancient Love and
 “ Zeal of the Gospel, and of Religion, he
 “ brought with him to the State of his high Dig-
 “ nity. The Proof whereof sufficiently was seen
 “ in his constant standing to God’s Faith, and
 “ zealous Defence thereof against the Bishops,
 &c. The last Part of Mr. Fox’s Account of him,
 lets us into the whole Secret of Mr. Echard’s
 Quarrel with him. The Lord Protector was by
 no Means a Promoter of the Temporal Power of
 the Clergy, and therefore he cou’d expect no bet-
 ter Quarter from them.

I doubt not in the next Reign we shall find
 Matters much extenuated; and, as I have hinted,
 one may see what Authors are most grateful to
 our Historians by their copying after them.

A. D.
 1553:
 Queen
 Mary.

Queen Mary began her *calamitous and dishonourable* Reign, as ’tis tenderly call’d, by promising
 to make no Change in Religion, and to be satisfi-
 fy’d with Liberty of Conscience to her self and
 Family; and yet very much indeed to her *Disho-*
nour, and the *Calamity* of the Nation, she chang’d
 it all entirely, and her Subjects were consum’d in
 the Flames blazing in all Parts of the Kingdom,
 for not changing with it. Her Character, drawn
 by our Historian, is, *She was a Lady of great Vir-*
tues, of a generous Temper, &c. Which agrees
 mightily with her Gratitude to the *Suffolk Men*,
 her Clemency to the Protestants, &c. Again,
She much endeavour’d to expiate and restore the Sa-
criliges of King Henry and King Edward. The
 Man who writes it, is himself a Protestant, or at
 least so pretends to be. He adds, *It was a lauda-*
ble Intention in her. The Reader must by no
 means rely on him for this Reign, but read it in
 Fox, Fuller, and Burnet.

The

The same Authors will be his Guide in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, which finish'd the Reformation, as it now differs from Popery; and is so full of Ecclesiastical Events, that we shall touch upon it very lightly. *The Hierarchy*, in Mr. Richard's Phrase, had all the Advantages of a Human, as well as Heavenly Establishment. He tells us farther, *She was not pleas'd with the Title of Supreme Head of the Church, as importing too sublime an Authority for a Crown'd Head; a potent Prince descended from a long Race of Kings; observe the Air: But not for Wolsey, a Butcher's Son of Ipswich, who was twice a Candidate for the Papacy. He adds, She lov'd Magnificence in Religion, the former Ornaments, and even Images in Churches.*

A. D.
1558.
Queen
Eliza-
beth.

We find a great deal of this Magnificence of Worship in his History. 'Tis strange, Ministers of the Gospel should not be so well acquainted with the Simplicity of Divine Worship, as the Heathens were of old. Is it that they think outward Appearance will make amends for inward Insensibility; or that Vestments and Colour can do the Work of Godliness and Grace; or that Gold, Purple, and fine Linnen, are the Liveries of Heaven? For my own part, when I see such Decorations made use of by Men of Piety and Worth, they have a good Effect upon me, and increase my Reverence; but when they are the Trappings of Immorality and Ignorance, the Effect is quite contrary; and in my Mind, I immediately strip the Wearers, that they may not disgrace their Cloathing. Thus they are left the most naked Creatures in the World. We read in the Reverend and Learned Bilhop Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, that the Athenians being worsted by the Lacedæmonians in many Encounters both at Land and Sea, sent to Jupiter Hammon to enquire

what Means they had best to use to obtain Victory over their Enemies; and withal to ask him, Why the *Athenians*, who, said they, serv'd the Gods with more *Pomp* and *Magnificence* than all the *Grecians* besides, should undergo so many Misfortunes, whilst the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Worship is so very mean and slovenly, are always crown'd with Success and Victory? The Oracle made them no other Answer, than that *the honest unaffected Service of the Lacedæmonians was more acceptable to the Gods, than all the splendid and costly Devotion of other People.*

The Historian tells us, That *Mary*, Queen of Scots, to her no small Dishonour, kept Company with *David Rizio*, an *Italian* Musician, when her Husband the Lord *Darnly* cou'd not be admitted. That *Darnly* entring her Chamber with some of his Friends, *Rizio* hung about her Wast, and was killed there: That the opening this Fountain of Blood was follow'd by a new Stream. For not many Months after, the King was first poison'd, shortly after barbarously murder'd in his Bed, the House blown up with Gunpowder, and his Body thrown out into an Orchard. Upon this we have a Piece of Secret History, to be taken upon the Author's Word, That we are not to give Credit to *Buchanan's* Account of it, notwithstanding he liv'd in the Court, who, to ingratiate himself with the Earl of Murray, wrote most scandalously concerning the Queen; of all which he earnestly repented, and acknowledg'd before his Death. If there's any Author of Reputation, who has furnish'd him with this Memoir, I shall have injur'd him by setting it in this Light. But there's none that was not of the *Popish* Faction, who speak of *Buchanan* in this manner; and it was after King *James* reign'd in England, that the Earl of *Murray*, and Earl of *Moreton*, were charg'd with the King's Death, which was before
laid

laid to Earl *Bothwell* and the Queen. I am not at all fond of the Story, and shall therefore leave it as it stands in the Histories, with observing, it is not likely so good a Man as the Earl of *Murray*, would be an Accomplice in so barbarous a Murder. For in a Page or two afterwards, upon his being assassin'd when Regent, Mr. *Echard* says, *He was so remarkable for Devotion and Piety, that ever after he was call'd by the Title of the good Regent.* Nor is it probable that *Murray* should enter into such a Conspiracy in Favour of *Bothwell*, who was to marry the Queen, and yet make it one of the Reasons for deposing her, that she protected *Bothwell*, whom the Parliament prosecuted as the Author of the King's Murther. Bishop *Burnet* informs us who were the Men that stuck by Queen *Mary*, *Professed Papists, or Men believ'd to be indifferent as to all Religion*; and who were the Party headed by *Murray* and *Moreton*, *Men zealous for the Reformation*, and fixed in a Dependance on the Crown of *England*, and in a Jealousy of *France*. The Reformation in *Scotland* was in a *Presbyterian* Way: The Reader therefore must not be surpriz'd, if he finds some of our Ecclesiastical Writers speak more favourably of Queen *Mary's* Party, than of the other. This Queen, though her Husband *Bothwell* was alive, in Mr. *Echard's* Words, readily accepted of the Terms of Marriage with another Husband, the Duke of *Norfolk*. The chief of the Sticklers for Queen *Mary*, was the *Romish* Bishop *Lydington*, who exciting a Rebellion against the Government, was taken Prisoner and sent to *Leith*, where he dy'd, not without *Suspicion of Poison*, by the *Presbyterians* without doubt; and, continues the last cited Author, he was a Man of excellent Wit, and great Understanding; which great Understanding, and excellent Wit of his, cou'd not restrain

him from a rash and wicked Attempt to revive the intestine War which had rag'd many Years in Scotland. The next Prelate he speaks of, is the famous Bishop of Ross, the same who was imprison'd for treasonable Practices against Queen Elizabeth, while he was Agent for Mary Queen of Scots at London; and I hint this, to shew on which Side he ranges the Wits, the wise and famous Men, in his History.

A. D.
1573.

I hope the Reader has long since conceiv'd a just Idea of the Candor and Piety of this Author; and to confirm it, I shall repeat a Passage entire in the Year 1573: He is speaking of the persecuting the Puritans; "It was thought the more necessary to restrain all new Opinions and Notions, by reason of one Peter Burchet, of the Middle-Temple; who taught that it was lawful to kill any that oppos'd the Truth of the Gospel; and so strictly pursu'd that Principle by his Practice, that it brought upon him the Guilt of Murder, for which he suffer'd Death according to Law.

Could any Thing be more inhuman, I will not say impious, than this Insinuation? He knows well enough the Puritans were so nam'd by their Enemies, to blacken them as Hypocrites, who pretended, as he says, to Purity. These Men were always pressing for a further Reformation, and most of them were for moderating Episcopacy. He knows, that among the Martyrs of our Church, as Bishop Hooper, Bishop Latimer, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, &c. Many of our greatest Prelates, as Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Cox, Bishop Pilkington, and several others. Among the Divines that liv'd in Banishment in Queen Mary's Days, were Coverdale, Bale, Leaver, Sampson, Fox, Gilby, Crowley, Goodman, &c. All Puritans. Among those

those that staid in *England*, *Gilpin*, *Cartwright*, *Travers*, *Kingsmill*, and others, the most Reverend and Learned Names of those Times. The latter were actually persecuted, as he mentions, but calls it the *restraining new Opinions and Notions*; and, as if they had been Broachers of Heretical, Dangerous, and Enthusiastical Tenents, he loads them with *Bourchet's Enthusiasm*, *Sedition*, and *Heresy*. He knows these Ministers did not err in Doctrine, but profess'd that of our *Church*; and that they were esteem'd and rever'd by the *Protestant Churches* all over *Europe*. *Calvin*, *Peter Martyr*, *Zanchy*, *Beza*, *Bullinger*, and other Ornaments of the Church of Christ, interpos'd by Letters to the Queen in Behalf of their suffering Brethren: But instead of telling you this, he tells you *Peter Bourchet* was hang'd. And whereas he would insinuate, that the Notions of the *Puritans* were as New, and consequently as Heretical as *Bourchet's*; he knows full well, that they are as old as the Gospel; and so far from being singular, that *Nine Parts in Ten* of the *Christian Church*, Popery excepted, did then espouse their Opinions and Notions.

One cannot help a little Warmth, when one meets with such Prevarication; especially considering the Author is not without his Interest in vilifying *Puritanism*, which oppos'd *Pluralities*, *Non-Residence*, *Ceremonies*, *Superiority of Bishops*, *Spiritual Courts*, and other Things, which cannot but offend those that have them at Heart, and in View.

The Death of *Mary Queen of Scots*, is an Event which has been often mention'd as a Blemish upon this Reign, and I shall leave it to *Historians* to controvert it. The Queen of *Scots* had treated by her Agents with the bloody Duke of *Guise*, to invade *England* with a *French Army*,

and *Massacre* the Protestants here, as he had done in *France*. She also kept a Correspondence with *Babington*, who was the chief Contriver of an *Assassination-Plot* against Queen *Elizabeth*, and was in almost all the Conspiracies which had disturb'd and endanger'd the Kingdom for Twenty Years together.

Babington, says Mr. *Echard*, was a hopeful young Gentleman, and recommended to the Queen of Scots by the Bishop of *Glasgow*. That Princess was condemn'd by Popish as well as Protestant Commissioners, and the Parliament address'd the Queen Twice, to have the Sentence put in Execution. Here the *Historian* is at great Pains to represent Queen *Elizabeth's* Reluctance in the Matter, which no doubt she heartily consented to; only, to save Appearances, acted her Part extremely well, and seem'd forc'd and surpriz'd into it. Her sacrificing a faithful Servant, *Davison*, Secretary of State, to Policy, is indeed the greatest Blemish of her Reign. It is well *Brantome's* History of the Scots Queen had not fall'n into our *Historian's* Hands. We should have had a more dismal Tragedy than himself has represented it. *Brantome* writes thus; *Le Bourreau la deschaussa & la mania par tout a sa discretion. On doute s'il luy en fit de mesme comme ce miserable dans les cent nouvelles de la Reine de Navarre*. He insinuates, that the Hangman ravish'd her, after he had cut off her Head. And adds, that the Cloth was torn off a *Billiard-Table*, to fling over the Corpse; which was salted, instead of being embalm'd, if we may believe *Brantome*.

Our *Historian*, speaking of King *James* her Son's Conduct on this melancholy Event, puts one in a terrible Fright; He breath'd out nothing but *Resentments and Revenge*. What a Consternation must the People of *England* be in, when they heard

heard of it? The French Historian assures us, Queen Elizabeth was under no manner of Concern about the Consequence of the Scots Queen's Death, not only with respect to her Son's *Resentments and Revenge*, but that of the French King, and the Guises her Cousins; *Car non seulement elle ne voulut passer par l'advis de ceux de son Royaume, mais de plusieurs grands Princes & Seigneurs Protestans tant d'Allemagne que de France, comme le feu Prince de Conde & Casimir, & le feu Prince d'Orange, & autres qui signerent cette morte violente.* "For not only she would do nothing without the Consent of her Parliament, but she consulted the Protestant Princes, and great Lords of Germany and France, as the late Prince of Conde, Prince Casimir, the Prince of Orange, and others, who sign'd to her Execution.

Mr. Echard assures us, she was a Princess firm and constant to her Religion, and of singular Piety towards God: And a Line or two after; That some believ'd her Misfortunes to proceed from the Vengeance of Heaven, for such secret Crimes of hers, &c His Account of Queen Elizabeth's Behaviour, upon the News of the Scots Queen's Death, gives one equal Pleasure and Amazement: *She little imagin'd such Severity had been acted, though she had sign'd a Warrant for her Execution; she heard it with such a Mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew pale, her Speech falter'd, her Spirits fail'd, and she was under such Astonishment and Confusion, that she had no Enjoyment of her Life.*

If the good Man thinks she was in Earnest, I know what to think of his Judgment; and what of his Integrity, if he did not think it.

Whatever is the Reason of it, not only our Historian, but other Writers of his Profession, even

even now that King *James* the First has been dead 100 Years, are always deploring the hard Fate of his Mother *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. At first they did it to compliment her Son; and for some Time it was little less than Treason, to justify her Execution.

It must be own'd, 'twas a great Blow to all *Jure Divino* Principles; and she was a most cruel Enemy to *Presbyterians*, which doubtless has got her many a good Word from these *Ecclesiastical* Writers.

Our last Protestant Queen *Mary*, whose adorable Virtues will make her Memory for ever dear to all good *Englishmen*, though she had more Reason to resent any hard Sayings against her Ancestor the *Scots* Queen, than all our *History-Writers*, spoke more plainly than any of them: Asking Dr. *Burnet* why King *James* her Father was so sharpen'd against *Monsieur Jurieu*: The Doctor told her it was, among other Things, for some Indecencies spoken of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, which cast Reflections upon them that descended from her. That Divine Princess reply'd, *Jurieu* must support the Cause he defends, and expose those that persecuted it in the best way he can. If what he says of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* be true, he is not to be blamed who made that Use of it. Her Royal Highness added, If Princes will do ill Things, they must expect the World will take revenge of their Memory, since they cannot reach their Persons: That is but a small Suffering, far short of what others suffer at their Hands. Sentiments so just and angelical, as shews how much superior a true Christian Spirit is to all human Wisdom and Philosophy.

King *James* of *Scotland* having marry'd *Anne*, the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter, that Lady in her Passage met with prodigious Storms, which,

says

says Mr. Echard, many believ'd were rais'd by Magic and Witchcraft; on Account, I suppose, of the Neighbourhood to Lapland, where Business is generally done by them.

For this Period read,

Sir Robert Howard's *Richard II.*
 Hayward's *Henry IV.*
 Godwin's *Henry V.*
 Habington's *Edward IV.*
 Sir Tho. More's *Edward V. Richard III.*
 Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Henry VIII.*
 Hayward and Godwin's *Edward VI. Queen Mary.*
 Cambden's *Queen Elizabeth.*
 Trussell.
 Hall.
 Hollinshed.
 Speed.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Church History of England, from Richard the Second's Reign, to the End of Queen Elizabeth's.

THE English Reader must not think, that even in the darkest Times of Popery, there were no Men of Sense and Piety, who had a just Notion of the Pretences of the Inferior Clergy.

In the Parliament holden A. D. 1395, there was a Book of Conclusions exhibited, which will appear

appear to be very Orthodox, particularly the Second. I shall give it in the old Form and Style.

“ Our usual Priesthood, which took his Original at Rome, and is fained to be a Power higher than Angels, is not that Priesthood which Christ ordained unto his Disciples. The Romish Priesthood is done with Signs, and Pontifical Rites and Ceremonies, and Benedictions of no Force and Effect, neither having any Ground in Scripture. For as much as the Bishops Ordinal and the New Testament does nothing at all agree, neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any good Gift thorough any such Signs or Ceremonies; because that he, together with all noble and good Giftes, cannot consist and be in anie Person with deadlie Sinne. It is therefore a lamentable and dolorous Mockery unto wise Men, to see the Bishops mock and play with the Holy Ghost, in the giving of their Orders. Their Character is the Marke of Antichrist, brought into Holie Church to cloke and colour their Idleness. How does this agree with Apostolical Succession, *Jure Divino*, and some modern Academical Decrees and Topicks? These Conclusions occasion'd the writing a Letter from the Bishops and Clergy to the Archbishop of York, then with Richard the Second in Ireland, to hasten his Return to defend and succour the True Faith, and Holy Church, that were in great Danger of being ruin'd by Hereticks, who were contriving to overthrow Canonical Sanctions. Thus they annex'd to their Persons, True Faith, Holy Church, and Canonical Sanctions.

This weak King came back immediately, and being a fit Tool for that Archbishop to work with, the Opposers of the Papal Tyranny and Idolatry

Ex, Vol. I.
p. 662.

were severely treated by him. And the Chief, as the Lords *Clifford*, *Latimer*, and *Montacute*, threaten'd highly for promoting the *Conclafions*.

In the Reign of *Henry IV.* *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been very Instrumental in the Revolution which had happen'd, obtain'd of the King a most cruel Decree against *William Sawtry*, a *Wickliviſt*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*, A. D. 1400, and is the first who ſuffer'd by Fire for his Religion in England. When that bloody Perſecutor *Arundel* examin'd another Holy Man, *William Thorp*, he us'd theſe Expreſſions, alluding to his being forc'd to fly the Kingdom in King *Richard's* Reign: *Wherefore I went out of England, is unknown to thee; but be this Thing well known to thee, that God, as I wot well, hath called me again, and brought me into this Land to destroy thee, and that false Sect that thou art of, as by God, I ſhall purſue you ſo narrowly, that I ſhall not leave a Slip of you in this Land.* This is the goodly Prelate who order'd ſeveral of his *Kentiſh* Tenants to do Penance, for not bringing him Fodder for his Horſes by Cartloads, but as much as they could carry on their Backs. Thus, if there was any Thing in Penance, he proſtituted a Religious Duty to his own poultry Intereſt. There's a merry Rhime or Two in *Foxe*, on the Proceſſion and Punishment of thoſe *Kentiſh* Tenants.

A. D.
1400.

This Bag full of Straw I bear on my Back,

Because my Lord's Horſe his Litter did lack:

If ye be not good to my Lord's Grace's Horſe,

Ye are like to go barefoot before the Croſs.

His Proceedings againſt Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham*, whom the King had highly favour'd for his Bravery and Virtue, are at large
in

in Fox, and have fix'd indelible Infamy on his Name. In the same Synod which condemn'd the Lord Cobham for Heresy, Mr. Ecard informs us, the Archbishop enacted that *Heretical Decree, that the Scriptures should not be translated into the English Tongue.* And it is remarkable that not long after, the same cruel Archbishop was seiz'd with a Distemper in his Tongue, which so excessively swell'd it, that it quite depriv'd him of his Speech, and shortly after put an end to his Life. One of Sir John Oldcastle's Answers to the Archbishop was very bold, and suitable to his manly Character: Being question'd touching the Authority of the Keys, he said, *The Pope is very Antichrist, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, be his Members, and the Fryars his Tail. The which Pope, Archbishop, and Bishops, a Man ought not to obey, but so far as they be Followers of Christ in their Life, Manners, and Conversation, he being the Successor of St. Peter, who is best and purest in Manners and Life.* The Priests, to set King Henry the Fifth against this brave Man, charg'd him with *Seditious Attempts against the Government*; of which the *Martyrologist* clears him entirely, and charges the Clergy of these Days with procuring by that Means, the terrible *Act de Heretico comburendo*, for burning Lollards, a Term the *Wickliffs* went by: " It manifestly
 " appears by all the Arguments, *says he*, and the
 " whole Purport of the Statute, that as well the
 " *Preamble and Preface* thereof, as the whole Bo-
 " dy of the Statute was made and framed, and pro-
 " cured only by and thorough the Instigation,
 " Information and Excitation of the Prelates and
 " Popish Priests, to whom Henry the Fifth was
 " a great Patron, as our Historian observes among his extraordinary Qualities; but omits a Reflection which would have done Honour to his
 glo-

glorious Memory, that probably he patroniz'd those Prelates and Priests, to keep them and his Kingdom quiet at Home, while he was Abroad intent upon the Conquest of France. He well knew how dangerous it was not to have them in his Interests, during a long Foreign War, and humour'd them so much in their Superstition and Cruelty, that he was term'd *Princeps Sacerdotum*. And we read in *Foxe* what was the Effect of it; *As true Piety and sincere Preaching of Christ's Word began to decay, so idle Monks and vain Superstition began to increase.*

“ The Clergy, says *Bishop Burnet*, making an
 “ ill Use of the Laws against *Lollards*, and vex-
 “ ing all People that gave them any Offence with
 “ long Imprisonments, the Judges interpos'd,
 “ and examin'd the Grounds of their Commit-
 “ ments. Thus the People sought for Shelter
 “ under their Protection, and found more Mercy
 “ at the Hands of common Lawyers than from
 “ them, who ought to have been the Pastors of
 “ their Souls, and the Publishers of the most
 “ merciful Religion that ever was. *Again;*

“ In the Primitive Church, all cruel Proceed-
 “ ings upon the Account of Heresy were con-
 “ demn'd. Banishment, and Fines, and some
 “ Incapacities, were the highest Severities ever
 “ upon the greatest Provocations. But as the
 “ Church grew corrupted in other Things, so a
 “ cruel Spirit being generally the Mark of all
 “ ill Priests of whatsoever Religion they are, they
 “ fell under the Influences of it. Burning agreed
 “ best with their Cruelty, as being the most ter-
 “ rible Sort of Death, and bearing some Resem-
 “ blance to everlasting Burnings in Hell; so they
 “ damn'd the Souls of the Hereticks, and burnt
 “ their Bodies: But the Execution of the for-

mer

“mer Part of the Sentence was not in their Power, as the latter Part was.

During the Minority of *Henry VI.* when the Princes and chief Lords were carrying on the War in *France*, the Priests had a full Swinge of Persecution, and several godly Ministers and others were burnt. The Statute took place, and the Clergy were very busy in lighting up their Bonfires, and exercising their Power without Conscience or Mercy, till a Stop was put to it by the *Reformation*. The History of which is so admirably well written by the late Bishop of *Salisbury*, that the Reader will need no other Light, and I shall only mention a few things which happen'd in the Course of it. Let us take a View of the State of the Church before the *Reformation* was accomplish'd: Let us see in what Hands the Reformers found the Keys, when they began their heavenly Work, and if the Parochial Clergy have any Reason to value themselves upon an Apostolical Succession so deliver'd down to them.

“The Bishops were grossly ignorant, says the
 “last mention'd Reverend Father of our Church.
 “They seldom resided in their Dioceses, except
 “it had been to riot at high Festivals; and all
 “the Effect their Residence could have, was to
 “corrupt others by their Example. They follow'd the Courts of Princes, and aspir'd to the
 “greatest Offices. The Abbots and Monks were
 “wholly given up to Luxury and Idleness, and
 “the unmarried State both of Seculars and Regulars gave infinite Scandal to the World; for
 “it appear'd, that the restraining them from having Wives of their own, made them conclude
 “that they had a Right to all other Mens. The
 “inferior Clergy were no better; and not having Places of Retreat to conceal their Vices
 “in, as the Monks had, they became more publick.

“lick. In sum, all Ranks of *Churchmen* were so
 “universally despis’d and hated, that the World
 “was very apt to be possess’d against their Do-
 “ctrines for the Sake of the Men, whose In-
 “terest it was to support them; and the Worship
 “of God was so defil’d with much gross Super-
 “stition, that without great Enquiries all Men
 “were easily convinc’d, that the Church stood in
 “great Need of a *Reformation*.

May not one very reasonably suspect, that it is
 not in the Power of Men to convey to others,
 that which they have not themselves; or whether
 the *Holy Ghost* could dwell among so many Abo-
 minations? Yet the inferior Clergy had ra-
 ther owe their *Divine Right* to a pretended
 Succession from this wicked Generation, than to
 the Laws of the Land, by which their Right is
 truly and only *Divine*; and if they wou’d be sa-
 tisfy’d with their legal Tenure, no body wou’d
 grudge them what they possess by it.

In the Beginning of *Henry the VIIIth’s* Reign,
 the *Lollards* were burnt in many Places. One
 of the most zealous *Persecutors* was *Fitzjames*, Bi-
 shop of *London*, whose cruel Processes may be seen
 at large in *Fox*, Vol. II. Yet of this Man does
 the *Oxonian Wood* say, *His good Deeds trod upon his*
Heels even to Heaven Gates; and speaking of *Far-*
rer the martyr’d Bishop of *St. David’s*, he tells us,
By the Example of Cranmer, he learned to get him-
self a Woman also under the Name of a Wife; that
 is, Archbishop *Cranmer* and Bishop *Farrer*, both
Martyrs of our Church, kept a Couple of *Whores*:
 For what else are Women under the Name only
 of Wives? Such Treatment as this do all the first
 Reformers meet with from him, and other *Aca-*
demicks of his Principles. *Martyrdom* it self can-
 not defend them from the Scandal and Malice of
 these Enemies to Moderation and Charity, but

Adorers of the Spirit of *Bigotry* and *Persecution*. Whoever has the Curiosity to see what Sentiments such Men have of the Book of *Martyrs*, and its Author, need only read *A. Wood's Athen. Oxon.* p. 591, 592, where Mr. Fox is more baited than ever he was by the Jesuits. Henry VIII. was so zealous at first for *Popery*, that he got somebody to write a Book against *Luther*, and he put his Name to it. For tho' Bishop *Burnet* does not speak with his usual Freedom of this Deceit of the King's, yet Fox leaves it without Question: *This Book, to use his old Phrase, albeit it carried the King's Name in the Title, yet it was another that ministred the Motion, another that framed the Style*; as was the Case of a Kingly Author in our Fathers Time.

After some Steps had been made in the *Reformation*, Archbishop *Cranmer* offer'd several Articles to shew the Cheats that had been put upon the World.

“As, that Priestly Absolution without Contrition was of more Efficacy than Contrition without Absolution.

“That the People trusted wholly to outward Ceremonies; in which the Priests encourag'd them, because of the Gain they made by them.

“That the Exemption of Clergymen was without good Ground.

“That Bishops did ordain without due Care, and previous Tryal.

If so, that certainly must so far give Interruption to *Succession*.

“And that the dignify'd Clergy misapply'd their Revenues, &c.

He earnestly press'd the King to a farther *Reformation*; and that nothing shou'd be determin'd without clear Proof from Scripture. But he was not heard in these so successfully as in other Matters.

In a Book of Religion, set out by the Bishops in the Year 1540, we meet with a Definition of a Church, which some modern Churchmen must needs condemn as *Puritanical* and *Schismatical*. It runs thus: *It comprehends all the Assemblies of Men in the whole World that receive the Faith of Christ, who ought to hold an Unity and brotherly Agreement together, by which they become Members of the Catholick Church.* By this Definition, Christians of whatever Denomination, nay, the very *Dissenters* of England, are of the *Catholick Church*, and pray'd for as such in our Church Service; tho' in the Sermons they are often unchurch'd, and given up to *Divine Vengeance*. These Prelates did not make Ordination by the Successors of the Apostles absolutely necessary to qualify a Man for the Cure of Souls.

In this Reign we have an Instance of the little Dependance that is to be made on the Oaths of superstitious and factious Bigots. One *Forrest* a Friar, who had been Confessor to King Henry's first Wife Queen *Katharine*, having taken the Oath of *Supremacy*, and acted afterwards against it, said, when he was charg'd with it, *He had taken the Oath for it with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never consented to it.* Thus certain of the inferior Clergy in our Times have taken the Oaths to his Majesty, and to excuse their undutiful Behaviour afterwards, have declar'd, *They took them in their own Sense.* But God will not be mock'd; and were they Sinners in this only, we cou'd not without trembling think of their dying in Impenitence. This Wretch was so impious, as to deny the Gospel at the Stake; for he was burnt in *Smithfield*, where *Papists* and *Protestants* suffer'd Death together; the latter for denying *Transubstantiation*, the former

for denying the *Supremacy*. Upon which a Foreigner cry'd out, *Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt Gentes. Hic suspenduntur Papistæ, illic comburuntur Antipapistæ!* Good God! how do the People act here; on one hand the Papists are hang'd, on the other Antipapists are burnt. And indeed King Henry had such a Mixture in his Council, both Sides were always making Reprizals upon one another.

Protestants. Papists.

Canterbury.	Winchester.
Suffolk.	Durham.
Viscount Beauchamp.	Norfolk.
Viscount Lisle.	Southampton.
Russel, Treasurer.	Anthony Browne.
Paget.	William Potulet.
Sadler.	John Baker.
Andley.	Richard Wingfield.

The short Reign of King Edward VI. produces great Alterations for the better in the State of the Church; and it is not to be doubted, but if that Religious King had liv'd long enough, he would have gone much farther in that good Work by the Advice of *Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer, Poynt*, and other Pious and Learned Prelates. *Pluralities* were a general Scandal at that Time; and Bishop *Burnet* instructs us how to think of such as held them now, "A Corruption, says he, of so crying and scandalous a Nature, that whenever it is practis'd, it is sufficient to possess the People against the Church that is guilty of it; there being nothing more contrary to the plainest Impressions of Reason, than that every Man, who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom at his Ordination he has vowed that he would
" in-

“instruct, ought to discharge that Trust him-
 “self, which is the greatest and most important
 “of all others”. Yet what is more common
 than to have Incumbents hold Two or Three Be-
 nefices at a Time? Nay, I have heard of one,
 and that a very ordinary one too, who held so
 many as to procure him the *Ironical* Title of the
Angel of the Seven Churches. The Grievance is
 the more crying, for that some of these Incum-
 bents are of so mean Capacities, as to be hardly
 qualify’d for the Cure of one Flock, whose
 Pleece one may see plainly is the only Thing
 aim’d at.

The *Injunctions* given to Bishops about *Ordina-
 tion* at that Time are an excellent Lesson in all
 Times, especially ours. Bishop *Burnet* writes thus
 of them.

“The *Injunctions* to the Bishops, directing
 “them to give Orders with great Caution, point-
 “ed out that by which only a Church can be
 “preserv’d from Errors and Corruptions. For
 “when Bishops do easily, upon Recommendations,
 “or emendicated Titles, confer Orders,
 “as a Sort of Favour that is at their Disposal,
 “the ill Effects of that must be fatal to the
 “Church, either by the Corruptions that these
 “vicious Priests will be guilty of, or by the Scan-
 “dals which are given to some good Minds by
 “their means, who are thereby disgusted at the
 “Church for their Sakes, and so are dispos’d to
 “be easily drawn into those Societies that se-
 “parate from it.

Every Reader will immediately ask himself,
 What do I know of this Kind? Have not I met
 with some too young, some too mean, some too
 ignorant and illiterate, some too pragmatikal and
 immoral, who have been serv’d by *Recommendations*
 and emendicated Titles?

It must be own'd, since the *Revolution* most of the Reverend Fathers of our Church have proceeded with great Caution; and the Complaint is chiefly in those Places, where Disaffection to the Government has been too little discountenanc'd. The Persons ordain'd by such *Titles* and *Recommendations* are the Men who complain most of the Irreverence and Disregard paid to their Function; wherein they are wilfully mistaken, that Disregard and Irreverence are to their Want of Virtue and Merit. Where Persons do Honour to their Function themselves, it will always be highly honour'd by others; and I appeal to the great Body of Pious and Worthy Divines of our Church, whether any of them can reasonably complain of Want of Regard and Respect to their sacred Character. Bishop *Burnet* in another Place renews this Discourse on the former Abuses in Ordination.

“ Too many consider it only as a Ceremony
 “ in Law necessary to make them capable of some
 “ Place of Profit, and not as the Dedication of
 “ their Lives and Labours to God, and to the
 “ gaining of Souls. It were happy for the
 “ Church, if Bishops wou'd not think it enough
 “ barely to put these Questions, but would use
 “ great Strictness in examining before hand the
 “ Motives that set on those that come to be ordain'd. By another Sponsion they plight to God
 “ for the Care of Souls to be manag'd by them
 “ in Person; and upon that they must find the
 “ Pastoral Care to be a Load indeed, and so will
 “ neither desert their Flocks, nor hire them
 “ out to weak and perhaps scandalous Mercenaries.

So far the Learned and Pious Bishop. I have not in all this Treatise ventur'd upon so much Freedom, as being not so well authoriz'd to speak freely

freely of such Abuses, which will be call'd railing at the Clergy; for the Guilty will always confound themselves with the Innocent, and tell you they are as much privileg'd against Animadversion, as the most Worthy and most Conscientious Divines.

Latimer, in a Sermon before the King, did not seem content with the Stop put to the Reformation, but press'd the setting up the *Primitive Discipline*. *Cranmer* sent for *Bucer*, to consult him about the Use of *Episcopal Vestments*, which *Hooper*, when he was nominated Bishop of Gloucester, scrupled to wear. *Bucer* was of Opinion, *That since these Garments had been abus'd to Superstition, and were like to become a Subject of Contention, they should be taken away by a Law, and that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be set up.* These Matters are handled at large in *Dr. Burnet's Hist. Ref. Vol. II.* *Bucer* being also consulted about the Common-Prayer Book, said, *He wish'd there might be not only a Denunciation against scandalous Persons coming to the Sacrament, but a Discipline to exclude them; which seems not to be very consistent with modern Usages in Civil Cases.*

“ He would have had *Habits* laid aside, and no
 “ Part of the Communion-Office us'd, except when
 “ there was a *Sacrament*. He advis'd a Change
 “ of some *Phrases* in that Office. He thought
 “ the holiying the Water in *Baptism* too *scenical*.
 “ He approv'd not of Godfathers answering in
 “ the Child's Name; and thought there should
 “ be a great Strictness us'd in the examining
 “ those who came to receive Orders. He press'd
 “ the Sanctification of the *Lord's Day*, the ap-
 “ pointing many Days of Fasting, and that *Plu-*
 “ *ralities* and *Non-residences* might be effectually

“ condemn’d. That *Bishops* might throw off secular Affairs, take care of their *Dioceses*, and govern them by the Advice of their *Presbyters*. That there might be *Rural Bishops* over twenty or thirty *Parishes*”. King *Edward* was very much pleas’d with his Advice, and, says *Bishop Burnet*, upon that began himself to form a Scheme for amending many Things that were amiss, and intended to set up a *Church-Discipline*. But whatever *Bucer*, *Cranmer*, King *Edward*, *Bishop Burnet*, and other Heads and Ornaments of our *Church* thought, Mr. *Echard* thinks otherwise, and is very positive that *Divine Worship* was reduc’d to a fit Medium between the Pomp of *Superstition*, and a naked Flatness. If by Flatness he understands Purity and Simplicity, there’s no Medium between them and *Superstition*: If by Flatness he means Dulness and Insensibility, let him deal with them as he pleases.

In Queen *Mary*’s dreadful Reign, the Spirit of angry Ecclesiasticks prevail’d in a most terrible manner. The more considerable *Papists* were against the Fires that blaz’d all over the Kingdom, to consume their honest Neighbours for worshipping God according to their Consciences. Cardinal *Pole*, tho’ provok’d by the Treatment he had met with in *Henry* the Eighth’s Reign, declar’d himself an Enemy to all severe Proceedings. “ He thought *Churchmen* should have the Tenderness of a Father, and the Care of a *Shepherd*, and ought to reduce, but not to devour the stray Sheep. He had observ’d, that Cruelty rather inflam’d, than cur’d the Distemper. He thought the better and surer Way was, to begin with an effectual Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy”. By this it appears, that *Papists* as well as *Protestants*, if they thought seriously and conscientiously of Matters, judg’d alike as to the

the Necessity of reforming the Morals of the Ecclesiasticks ; it being the shortest and surest Way to reform those of the People. Cardinal Pole said farther ; “ It is the Scandal given by the ill Conduct and Ignorance of the Clergy, that is the chief Cause of the Growth of Heresy ; and concluded, “ If a *Primitive Discipline* should be reviv’d, the Nation would by degrees lay down their Prejudices, and might in Time be gain’d by gentle Methods.

Such are the Sentiments of virtuous Men of all Religions ; and the weak and vicious will always be the Reverse in every Thing. ’Tis much easier to silence *Gainfayers*, than to convince them ; and to destroy, more easy than to convert them. Besides, as *Reformation* by Change of Manners is with some of these Offenders worse than *Heresy* it self, since the Work is to be begun at home, so they are for trying any way but that.

In the Beginning of this Reign, the Bishop of London made a long Speech to the Convocation, in which he compar’d Priests to the *Virgin Mary* in three Points, and afterwards added ; *The Dignity of Priests by some means passeth the Dignity of Angels ; because there is no Power given to any of the Angels to make the Body of Christ, which the least Priest may do in Earth, and the highest Angel in Heaven cannot do : Wherefore Priests are to be honour’d before all Kings of the Earth, Princes and Nobles. For a Priest is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, and Maker of his Creator.* Such is the *Church-History* in Queen Mary’s Reign ; the Events of which are so bloody and inhuman, that it can neither give Entertainment nor Instruction, unless we learn by it to do whatever lies in our Power to prevent the like Barbarity and Tyranny falling upon us or our Posterity. The Attempt to impose a Child upon the Nation in

Fox,
Vol. III.
P. 41.

this Queen's Time was not perhaps unsuccessful because she had none; she seem'd to have gone too far for that; but because the Child must have inherited the *Spanish* Dominions as well as the *English*. There had been Prayers and Thanksgivings for her *Conception*, and Prayers for her Breeding and happy Delivery. The *Envoys* were nam'd, who were to carry the good News to the Neighbouring Courts. Nay, the News of a *Prince* flew over the Kingdom, and *Te Deum* was sung upon it in several Cathedrals. The Parliament complimented the Queen with an Act, in the *Preamble* of which they acknowledge the Child that was to be born to be an Answer to their *continual Prayers*; and in the Body of the Bill provided for its Succession, &c. Such solemn Preparations as these made way for its Reception much better than was done by the last *Papish* Queen *Mary*; but her Husband wanted both the Sense and Spirit of King *Philip*, and suffer'd himself to be driven by his Priests on the most absurd, dangerous, and unjustifiable Experiments.

The *English* Reader will be surpriz'd to find that the *Protestant* Refugees, who fled from Queen *Mary's* fiery Persecution to *Germany*, should have any Disposition to quarrel about Things indifferent abroad, while their Brethren at home were sealing the Essentials of their Religion with their Blood. Some of these Ministers were for conforming to the foreign *Protestant* Churches in Divine Service; but even then there were others, who insisted on the Use of the *English Liturgy*, and went so far as to procure an Order from the Magistrates of *Strasburgh* that they should do so, Upon which a Division ensu'd, and several of the Ministers retir'd to *Geneva*. Dr. Burnet speaks thus of this Separation: *Great Animosities were*

rais'd

rais'd by those Debates, which gave Scandal to the Strangers among whom they lived; and many reflected on the Schisms of the Novatians and Donatists that rent the Church of Africa, the one during the Persecutions, and the other immediately after they were over. What an amazing Thing is it, that when these Divines heard of nothing from England but Tortures, Fires and Gibbets, when their Country was reduc'd to a Golgotha, and become the Terror and Disgrace of the Christian World; that those who fled from it to escape the Perils with which they were threaten'd, should have so little Consideration, so little Temper, as to divide from one another, and break Christian Union for Things that were allow'd not to be of the Essence of Religion? How invincible is this Spirit, and what Hope of seeing it abated?

The History of Queen ELIZABETH is as glorious to her Memory, as that of her Sister is dishonourable; and the Protestant Religion was restor'd with more Ease than Queen Mary abolish'd it, but without Blood; and whatever Religion has its Establishment in Cruelty and Oppression, the People who profess it had certainly been much better without it.

In King Edward the Sixth's Common-Prayer, there was an express Declaration against the Corporal Presence, but it was left out; which does not seem to give any Progress to the Reformation. The main Argument us'd by the Papists against the Protestants in the Beginning of this Reign, was the Perpetual Succession in St. Peter's Chair, of which much has been already said. Queen Elizabeth inclin'd to keep Images, and it was not without earnest Sollicitation, that she was prevail'd with to consent to have them put down.

In reading Fox's Martyrology, I met with a Passage which may be of Use to such as often hear
Decla-

Declamations in the Pulpit against the Geneva Religion, if not the Geneva Bible. When Philpot the Martyr, Archdeacon of Winchester, was examin'd before the Bishops the last Time; the Bishop of Litchfield said, Your Church of Geneva, which ye call the Catholick Church, is that which Christ prophees'd of. Mr. Philpot reply'd, I allow the Church of Geneva, and the Doctrine of the same, for it is UNA CATHOLICA & APOSTOLICA, and doth follow the Doctrine which the Apostles did preach; and the Doctrine taught and preach'd in King Edward's Days was also according to the same.

I do not quote this, to insinuate that the Protestant Church of England is not as perfect in its Doctrine and Discipline. For I am fully satisfy'd that it is; and that such as are of another Opinion, are unhappy, if not erroneous; but I would let the English Reader see, that the first Reformers were quite different from the furious Part of the Inferior Clergy, and very justly took all Protestants to be of the Catholick Church, whether it was govern'd by Bishops or Presbyters.

I would only infer from this, that we should exercise Charity, and treat our Brethren with Brotherly Love, as we are all Members alike of the One Catholick and Apostolical Church. This will also teach us to be upon our Guard against those froward and ignorant Preachers, who would make us believe, that to differ from us in Opinion, is Schismatical and Damnable, though in Matters of Form and Discipline only. Such blind Teachers declaim to gratify their mean Passions, and will be found to be equally deficient in both Temper and Merit.

In the Second Year of this Queen, Visitors were sent over England, who requir'd the Clergy to use Habits, and the People to bow at the Name

of

of *Jesus*; which was not alike pleasing to all: And the Neglect of *Church-Discipline* was so much complain'd of, that it set some upon devising many new *Platforms*, as Dr. Burnet informs us.

A Design was laid to regulate *Excommunications*, and not leave them in mercenary and scandalous Hands, such as the Dependants on *Spiritual Courts*; of which the same Reverend Author speaks thus: "The Government of the Church
" had long been profan'd by *Lay Hands*, who
" had expos'd its Authority to the Contempt of
" the Nation, by which the Reverence to Holy
" Things is in so great a Measure lost, that *Ex-*
" *communication*, the most dreadful of all Cen-
" sures, is now become the most scorn'd and de-
" spis'd. But, upon what Reason it cannot be
" known, this was not carry'd on with that Zeal,
" nor brought to that Perfection which was ne-
" cessary.

Nor can we see any more Reason for not perfecting so good a Work now, than for neglecting it then. The Vexations which the hated Officials of these scorn'd and despis'd Censures give the weak and fearful, for Trifles and *temporal Offences*, are a Scandal to every Thing that's *Spiritual*; and their Processes have so little of Religion or Reason in them, that it is almost miraculous to have them still subsisting in a Protestant Country.

Mr. *Echard*, and others, when they speak of the Differences unhappily continuing amongst us in Religious Matters, always represent those that differ from themselves, as Broachers of *Novelties*, and *Starters* of new Notions. They never tell you, these Controversies are as old as the *Reformation*, and perhaps much older. And that in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, they took Root by that Queen's countenancing such as were for the *Pomp*
and

and *Magnificence* of Worship, and by the *Obstinacy* of such as were against them. Many of the chief Divines were *Puritans*, and many more severe Sticklers for *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. Among the former were *Hooper, Latimer, Farrer, Harley, Taylor, Poynt, Grindal, Sands, Parkhurst, Cox, Pilkington, Horn, Jewel, Bishops; Nowel, Whittingham, Humphreys, Sampson, Deans; and others.* Among the latter, *Parker, Whitgift, Elmer, Cooper, Bridges, Bancroft, Bishops; Sutcliff, Cosins, Stanhope, Doctors; Mr. Hooker, &c.* The Laity also took Party. The chief of those who favour'd the *Puritans*, were the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Leicester*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Paulet*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Mr. *Beal*, and several leading Members of the House of *Commons*. Opposite to these were the Lords Chancellors, *Hatton* and *Bromley*, the Lord Keeper *Puckering*, Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, &c. As the one or the other prevail'd, there were Ease or Vexation to the *Puritans*. The Pulpit and the Press were employ'd on both Sides, but that of *Severity* became unpopular; and succeeded accordingly in the next Century.

There's hardly one of the *Puritan* Divines, but has the Character of an Hypocrite, or Block-head, in *A. Wood's Athen. Oxon.* while some of the Monkish Saints are characteriz'd as if they were really what the Monks represented them. The Reader need only run over what he says of Dean *Whittingham*, and Saint *Cuthbert*, to have full Satisfaction as to the Opinions and Principles of that *Oxonian* and others.

When Archbishop *Whitgift* put out the Three Articles about the *Common-Prayer, Ordination,*
and

and the *ThirtyNine Articles*, obliging all Ministers to *subscribe* them, Mr. *Richard* in one Place tells us, he was oppos'd only by *Factionous Ministers*. He might as well have said, he was oppos'd only by *opposing Ministers*, for *Opposition* and *Faction* are here the very same Thing. In another Place we are told, The *Noblemen* also oppos'd him, and promoted *undeserving Persons*. *Undeserving* is there also another Word for *opposing*: But this good and active Bishop, which must be translated into *Bigotted* and *Persecuting*, for that is the true English of it, by his *Constancy, Courage, and Patience*, overcame all *Difficulties*. The Truth is, he turn'd out a great Number of pious and learned Clergymen, which he terms *overcoming all Difficulties*. And *A. Wood* has explain'd how he overcame them, in the Case of *John Penry*, M. A. of *St. Alban-Hall, Oxford*. He was forc'd to fly the Kingdom from this active and good Bishop, and returning some Time afterwards, was seiz'd at *Stepney*. The Archbishop order'd him to be try'd for writing and publishing certain Books, and being found *Guilty*, he was condemn'd to be hang'd. Here's Goodness and Activity! and was accordingly executed at *St. Thomas a Watering*; when he look'd least for the same, says *A. Wood*, then was he brought forth, being at Dinner, by a Warrant under the Hands of *John Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Sir John Puckering*, Lord Keeper, and *Sir John Popham*, Lord Chief-Justice, and the Matter being carried after a close Manner, he was suddenly conveyed to the Place of Execution, where he was as hastily bereav'd of his Life. Here's Activity with a Vengeance; and not suffer'd, tho' he desired it, to make Declaration of his Faith towards God, or of his Allegiance to her Majesty. A Page or Two before, *A. Wood* gives this Character of Mr. *Penry*, He was esteem'd by many a
 tole-

tolerable Scholar, an edifying Preacher, and a good Man; but being a Person full of Welsh Blood, it was convenient to make an end of him in this Way.

Among Echard's Factious Ministers, were Walter Travers, B. D. Lecturer of the Temple when Mr. Hooker was Master, and being remov'd by Whitgift, Dr. Loftus Archbishop of Dublin, procur'd him the Provostship of Trinity College near that City.

Mr. Dudley Fenner, Minister of the English Church at Middleburgh, driven thither by this Bishop's Activity.

Mr. William Charke, who wrote against Campian and Parsons the Jesuits with Success.

Mr. John Reynolds of Oxford, Mr. William Whitaker of Cambridge; Men of profound Learning, and in great Esteem.

I have a long List of such Names and Characters as these, which our Historian represents as a Parcel of hot factious Fellows, and the English Reader will be careful how he takes his or Heylin's Word on the like Occasion.

For this Church History, read

Fox's Martyrology.

Fuller's Ecclesiastical History.

Burnet's History of the Reformation.

PART

PART II.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Histories of England, from the
Death of Queen Elizabeth, to the
REVOLUTION in 1688.*

I AM come now to that Period of the *English* History, in which the Reader will think himself most concern'd, for that himself or his Fathers might probably bear a Part in it. The Events at least are so fresh in Memory, or so lately transacted, that the *Historian* will have the more difficult Task to impose upon him; yet by *Glosses, Misrepresentations, false Lights, Sophistical Arguments, and bold Assertions*, so it happens, that we have no History of the *Four following Reigns* upon which the *English* Reader can depend, as I shall endeavour to prove in the remaining Part of this Treatise.

The many Advantages *Bishop Burnet* had above his Contemporaries to undertake such a Work, were a great Temptation to him to make the best Use of them. He told me himself, that he was but about *Twenty Years Old*, when the Accidents of his Life made him acquainted with the Springs and Motions of the most important Events, and it continu'd thus with him to his

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Death.

Death. He lamented it as his Misfortune, and as so much Time lost from his sacred Function; for which he could not tell how better how to atone, than by giving the World the *Memoirs* he had collected from his own Knowledge, and that of his Friends. The Examples and Lessons of Virtue and Wisdom, which his *History* produc'd, would, he hop'd, be a Means to excite Imitation in well-dispos'd Minds. And to deter others from wicked Acts, he set such as had been guilty of them in their proper Light, and shew'd the Ruin and Infamy which they brought upon the Actors.

Indeed such sort of Histories as his, are the most likely to have the Effect he intended. The Pictures are all Originals, and the Likeness touches and engages in the most sensible Manner; whereas there's no Life, no Colour, in the dead Draughts of your *Copiers, Collectors, and Compilers*, who have lately usurp'd the Name of *Historians*. Men of small Learning and Parts, and less Knowledge of Persons and Things, have set up for Writers of *History*, and think there's no other Qualification necessary than a smooth Stile, in which too they are very often mistaken, and for Smoothness fall into Affectation.

Far from having Opportunities or Credit enough to procure authentick *Manuscripts*, most of our Modern *History-Writers* content themselves with the Copies of *Common Records, Gazettes, News-Papers, and Pamphlets*; stuffing their Pieces with long *Speeches* in Parliament, *Votes* of the House of Commons, and even *Proclamations*. Some of them have copy'd these noble Materials *Verbatim*, as will be frequently found in the Four last Reigns of the *Compleat History of England*, than which nothing can be more *uncompleat*; and Archdeacon *Ecchard* is not free from the like Imputation,

putation, though not so gully as the Writer of those Reigns.

Where they have added any Thing of their own, it has been from publick Fame, or private Hearsay, not from Persons who transacted Matters, who were in the Secret of Council, or Friends to such as were; but from old Women, Boys, and Men of like Credit in the Tell-tale Way, of which the most flagrant Instance is the *Dialogue* between *Cromwell* and the *Devil*, as *Mr. Echard* tells it, under the Year 1651. This Story he had from some one or other, who had it from the Family of the *Thorowgoods*, who had it from the Memoirs of *John Thorowgood*, a Boy of Twelve Years Old, who had it from his Father *Mr. Thomas Thorowgood*, who had it from *Colonel Lindsey*, who had it from the *Devil* himself; for he saw *Oliver* and *Satan* together, and was a Witness to the Bargain. This miserable Tale, which would not bear telling to Children and Servants about a *Christmas* Fire, without some Humour and Grimace, is related in the most solemn serious Manner, and *Mr. Echard* is not at all ashamed of it; but adds, that *Mr. Thorowgood's* Testimony compleats and confirms the Story. Of which he is so fond, that instead of retracting it, he lets it stand in his *Second Edition*, p. 691, as an Ornament to his wonderful Performance.

I am sensible 'tis impossible to write a *History* of *England*, and keep ones self in the good Graces of all Readers. If I were capable of it, I would not expect it, nor desire it. And what must I say to get the Character of a *Candid Ingenious* Author, from some *Cambridge* and *Oxford* Men? Must not I flatter the Betrayers of our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, assert the Power and Dignity of the Priesthood, extol their Virtue and Learning, and place the *Mitre* above the *Crown*?

For my Part, I would keep strictly to *Truth*, as far as I could get Intelligence; and must confess it would be with a strong Bias in Favour of the *Constitution*.

To write on that Side with a just Regard to Fact, is to be Impartial. The *Party* is that which separates and divides itself from the publick Interest, to support a particular one in Opposition to it. What must the Side be, that's opposite to the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country? Is it likely that they carry Conscience or Reason along with them, or that such a Party should be compos'd of Men of Honour, Wit and Merit; and the other be to a Man, a Company of Witless, Worthless Wretches, led on by Two or Three cunning designing Rascals, to fight for the *Protestant Religion and Liberty*, &c? This seems to be the whole Purport and Aim of the Earl of Clarendon's and Mr. Echard's Histories.

The Parliament of England, who brought in King Charles the Second, justify'd the Proceedings of the *Long Parliament*, till the Death of the King, as you may see in *Echard*, Anno 1660, *They drew their Swords*, said that Parliament, to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and vindicate their just Liberties; and how are they represented by the above-mention'd Historians?

When I read the Characters in the Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, it puts me in Mind of those Painters who can perform well when they paint after *Fandy*, but never succeed when they are to follow Likeness.

That History and Mr. Echard's, have done most Mischief in our Times: Under Colour of Impartiality there's a Design conceal'd, which is the most Partial and Mischievous. Can any one by reading those Histories, know really what Sort of Men King James the First, and his Son,

Son, and Two Grandsons were, or have a true Idea of the Characters which their Reigns were full of?

Common Readers have been deceiv'd by Appearances in both. The Beauty of *Imagination* and *Colouring* in the Earl of *Clarendon's* History, charm'd them so much, that they were not aware of the notorious Mixture of *Falseness* with *Truth*, which runs through it; as will be seen by comparing it with *Rushworth's* Collections, *Whitlock's* Memorials, and other contemporary Writers. By *Historical Falseness* I do not intend *Fable*, when I speak of my Lord *Clarendon*. But where the *Fact* is curtail'd or enlarg'd, where it is brought in or carry'd off with unfair and forc'd Reflections, then is the Work *Historically false*, for that the whole *Truth* of the *Facts* does not appear, and of *Consequence* the *Reflections* which are made upon them must be ill grounded.

It has been said of the Earl of *Clarendon*, that his Lordship has remember'd more *Minds* than another Man could remember *Faces*; And it must be by a *Miracle* if the *Likeness* is always preserv'd.

The Preface to *Whitlock's* Memorials, is suppos'd to be written by *Annesley*, the first Earl of *Anglesey*, and he speaks thus of that noble Author; He had that Principle of a Gentleman, as not to report dishonourably of an Enemy, and therefore he is the more excusable in giving a fair Character of his Friends.

Almost all the *Left Side* Characters in the Lord *Clarendon's* History, were Friends to *Whitlock*, who either wrote unfairly in giving them fair Characters, or the Earl of *Clarendon* wrote unfairly in giving them foul ones.

Had

Had there been the Impartiality in *Echard's* Work, which he often boasts of, the Air of Truth that appears in these *Memorials*, wou'd have check'd his Inclination to follow such Guides as *Heylin*, *Nalson*, the *Grand Rebellion*, &c. where a quite contrary Air is every where visible. *A Wood* assures us, *Whitlock's* Book is no more than a Diary which he began and continued for his private Use: Whereas *Nalson's*, *Heylin's*, the *Grand History*, &c. are all artful study'd Compo-sures, written with a View to vindicate or explain away all the Male-Administration in the Reign of King *Charles the First*. As to *Rushworth*, who wou'd have been another good Guide for him, let us see what *Wood* has to say of him and his Writings. He was upon the Stage continually, an Eye and Ear Witness of the greatest Transactions. He did personally attend and observe all Occurrences of Moment, during the Eleven Years Interval of Parliament, in the Star-Chamber, Court of Honour, Exchequer-Chamber, Council-Table, &c. He went to the Camp at Berwick, on Purpose to see and observe the Passages. He was Clerk Assistant to the House of Commons, Secretary to the Lord General *Fairfax*, many Years a Member of Parliament, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor *Bridgman*, and a considerable Lawyer himself. Let the Reader judge, Whether it is not likely we should find the Facts in the Works of such a Writer, rather than in Two such Hirelings as *Nalson* and *Heylin*, to name no more at Present? Now if in all the State Passages, wherein the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, and their Histories copy'd by *Echard*, extol the Conduct of King *Charles the First*, *Land*, *Strafford*, and the rest of the Courtiers and Creatures of that Prince, there is not a perfect Disagreement with *Rushworth's* Collections, and *Whitlock's* Memorials, I have been

guilty

guilty of the Faults with which I charge the Archdeacon, gross Partiality, Prevarication, &c.

Since the first Impression, a Collection of Ten Letters has been publish'd, address'd to the Author of this History, which he never saw till after the Run of them was pretty well over. In the Preface to them, the Matter is set right as to *Whitlock and Rushworth*: *These Historians*, says that Writer, *disagree almost every where with my Lord Clarendon in Fact, Circumstance or Character. And the Reader should prefer the Plainness and Simplicity of Diaries and Registers; such as Rushworth's and Whitlock's, writ at the Instant, to relate Events when, and just as they happen'd, to a study'd artful Performance, such as his Lordship's, writ many Years after, and with a visible Intention to recover the Reputation of a Cause he had himself espous'd, and in which he was accompany'd by none but Hero's, Saints, and other Worthies, as he is pleas'd to represent them almost to a Man, &c.*

In *Echard's History* you will meet with the same Blemish as in the *Lord Clarendon's*, but not with the same Beauty. That Writer seems to be enamour'd with his own Stile, and to think it the chief Merit of an *Historian*. I own, a *Stile* will do the Business well enough with common injudicious Readers, as *Diction* often does in the modern *Drama*. But when a Spectator is capable of judging of the *Design*, the *Conduct*, the *Proportion* of a *Picture*, will he not have a Contempt even for the best *Colours*, without them?

I have often wonder'd how that *Historian* could have ventur'd upon such an Undertaking, if he had read Bishop *Nicholson's* Description of the Qualifications necessary for it.

“ An *Historian*, says that learned Prelate, in
“ his *English Historical Library*, should not only
“ be

" be a *Scholar*, a *Statesman*, and a *Philosopher*,
 " but also a *Divine*, a *Lawyer*, an *Orator*, and a
 " *Poet*, and further, a downright honest *Country*,
 " *Gentleman*: At least, he must be plentifully
 " stock'd with *Wit*, or an *universal Disposition*,
 " and *Noble Spirit*, that comprehends all that's
 " great and glorious in the several States and Em-
 " pires of the whole World. And to these intel-
 " lectual Endowments, we must add that great
 " one of all, of being *Philalethes*, a Person un-
 " bias'd by *Passion* and *Interest*.

If to this we join what *Pere le Moine* says,
 'twill shew what a daring Enterprize the writing
History is, *Such an Historian duly qualify'd, is a*
Man not yet born, nor will be before the Tear that
discovers the Perpetual Motion, and Philosophers
Stone.

To set up for an *Historian* with one or two of
 these Qualifications, or perhaps with one only, a
narrative Stile, is like setting up for a *Painter*,
 with a Bag of Colours.

Mr. *Echard* has servilely copy'd, and in some
 Places outdone the Lord *Clarendon*, in his partial
Characteristicks.

The *Royalists* are, to a Man, Men of *Honour*,
 or *Sense*, or *Piety*, or *Courage*, or all.

The *Parliamentarians* are *Cowards*, or *Atheists*,
 or *Blockheads*, or *Hypocrites*, or all; wherein nei-
 ther of them have sav'd Decencies; it being ve-
 ry unlikely that so good a Cause, as the *bringing*
Delinquents to Punishment, and *vindicating their*
just Liberties, to use the Words of the Parlia-
 ment, should be espous'd only by a Parcel of
 Scoundrels; and *Arbitrary Power* and *Bigotry* have
 all the Heroes of their Side. Both these Histo-
 rians are like another whom I have read of, that
 call'd the Captain of his own Party always *Achil-*
les, and the Enemies General *Thersites*. The
 Lord

Lord Clarendon stumbles at the Threshhold, and begins in the very Title, *The History of the Grand Rebellion* by the Lords and Commons of England, in Defence of their just Rights, against Archbishop Laud, the Earl of Strafford, &c. Mr. E. chard leads along his Rebels and Roundheads, like so many Captives, after King Charles the First's Triumphal Car.

Livy every-where makes honourable Mention of Scipio, Afranius, and even Brutus and Cassius, often stiling them *excellent Persons*; yet was he not less belov'd of Augustus Cæsar, nor had any other Reprimand from him, than that of Pompeianus; neither did those Times ever call them Rogues and REGICIDES, says my Lord Anglesey. These Terms were bestow'd upon them afterwards, by a more degenerate Un-Roman Generation, under the Ministry of Sejanus. If Sejanus the Minister could have written the History himself, no doubt it would have been entituled the *Grand Rebellion*, or the Downfall of Brutus the Regicide. But for all that, who would not much rather have the Character of Brutus, than that of Sejanus?

'Tis an Affront to a civil Reader, continues the Earl of Anglesey, who comes with a good Appetite, hungry for the Truth, to grate upon his Teeth with Reproaches and Aggravations; or, on the other hand, to turn his Stomach with nauseous Flourishes, and slavish Adulation. The Reader comes not to engage and list in a PARTY, but expects with an honest Neutrality to make Profit, and a laudable Spoil, from the Quarels and Misfortunes of others.

Though such Aggravations and Reproaches, such slavish Adulation and nauseous Flourishes, must be expected from Persons of low and narrow Breeding and Life, yet they are mean, unbecoming, and even unnatural in an Author of Distinction,

I have

I have neither Leisure nor Inclination to enter here into the *Detail* of the *Glosses*, *Misrepresentations*, *false Lights*, *sophistical Arguments*, &c. in the *History* of the *Rebellion*, and *Mr. Echard's History*, tho' I have Matter enough collected before me : But I beg the Reader to let me muster up *Echard's* two Armies of Epithets.

On the King's Side.

Gallant, Courageous, Famous, Punctual, Modest, Brave, Honest, Valiant, Fearless, Intrepid, Wise, Industrious, Active, Rich, Invincible, Undaunted, Witty, Judicious, Polite, Learned, Sober, Pious, Devout, Faultless, Excellent, Virtuous, Inviolable, Reputable, Studious, Opulent, Lucky, Fortune-telling, Incomparable, Young, Stout, Godly, Sweet-temper'd, Graceful, Lovely, &c.

On the Parliament's Side.

Infamous, Villainous, Hypocritical, Inveterate, Seditious, Swinish, Furious, Inconsiderable, Unreasonable, Cowardly, Factioners, Insolent, Saints, Sinks, Scotsmen, Mad, Raving, Papists, Ill-dress'd, Wretched, Heretical, Unjust, Irregular, Obscure, Proud, Subtil, Blasphemous, Devils Incarnate, &c.

Would one think now that such an Army as he has press'd for the Parliament, was every where victorious over the *Valiant* and *Invincible* ; and that among the *Faultless* and *Fearless*, we should find the *Wilnotts* and *Gorings* ?

The Partiality is so staring, that 'tis ridiculous ; and there is not the like in History, from that of *Herodotus* to *Mr. Echard's*. It must be confess'd, when Persons of a certain Function have set about *History-Writing*, it generally smells of the Cask ; and

and if by their Works they cannot make Men better, I despair of their making them wiser. 'Tis true, there are many Exceptions to this Observation, and my Lord of *Salisbury's* late History is an unquestionable one: But when was there ever a Man, whose Knowledge of the World and Affairs began at twenty Years of Age, and increas'd till almost Fourscore, as his did; and in whom we meet with all the Endowments of a *Divine*, a *Statesman*, a *Scholar*, a *Philosopher*, a *Gentleman*, and above all, of a *Christian*, who writes only what he knows, and speaks only what he thinks?

The Order and Disposition of *Bishop Burnet's History of his Times*, the Justness of his Moral and Political Reflections, the Simplicity of his Style, and that Air of Probity and Goodness which runs thro' the whole, carry with them those Marks of *Immortality*, which are rarely seen in the Works of the *Moderns*; notwithstanding some few Exceptions, to which all human Writings are liable.

Those of the *Ancients*, who in this Bishop's Way wrote of their own Times, and of Things within their own Knowledge, nor that of their Friends, were always held in the highest Esteem, as being both most useful and entertaining; such as *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius*, *Salust*, *Tacitus*, *Laetantius*, *Marcellinus*. Among the *Moderns*, the most famous are, *Philip de Comines*, *Gucciaridin*, *Davila*, *Monfieur de Thou*, whose History bears the same Title with our Bishop's, and probably he form'd his Design upon that Illustrious Author's. But not to affect a Show of Reading, it will appear by these great Names, well known to all Lovers of good Literature, that the Bishop's Manner is not only the most delightful and instructing, but in the best Repute, as to History,

story, in the Learned World, both Ancient and Modern.

In Discourse with his Lordship upon the Subject of his History, two Years before his Death, I perceiv'd he foresaw that the Light he had given to the dark Affairs of the Two Inglorious Reigns succeeding the Restoration, would enrage that desperate Faction, who were the Instruments of the Misery and Confusion which attended them.

As they have nothing to flatter them in their Despair, but the pretended Claim of an abandon'd Fugitive; an Attempt to expose the Imposture, must needs give them a terrible Alarm, and drive them upon all the little and base Methods that Prejudice and Malice can invent, and Falshood and Perjury support, to elude the Strength of his Arguments, and keep the Cheat in Countenance. This he was very sensible of; but desir'd that the Friends to Truth and his Memory would treat the Herd of *Answerers* and *Remarkers* with the same Indifference and Neglect, which he observ'd towards the *Remarkers* and *Answerers* that crowded after his History of the *Reformation*, but dy'd and were forgotten before he had Time to call over their Names and Titles.

He reply'd to one of these *Remarkers*, *Wharton* the *Nonjuror*, who disguis'd his true Name with an *alias Anthony Harmer*. This Person, who was equally a *Pedant* and a *Bigot*, was cry'd up by the *Faction* for his Learning and Orthodoxy; tho' his *Remarks* on the *History of the Reformation* consisted chiefly in *Dates*, *Figures*, in Readings of *Records*, and other such Observations; which did not at all depreciate the Merit of that admirable Performance. But it is very common with them to declaim eternally in Praise of these Dealers in *Monkish* History, as if their Works were

were invaluable; though all their Value is in the Pains they take to establish an Ecclesiastical Tyranny; and I hardly ever met with one of them, that had any Relish of useful and polite Learning. We need not wonder why this *Wharton*, alias *Harmer*, is so much in the good Graces of the Historian *Echard*, and the Party; since among all his Labours, he scarce ever spent himself more, than in his *Defence of Pluralities*, a most wicked Practice, and a Scandal to the Christian Name: He himself having Two Parsonages, and never living at one of them. Bishop *Burnet* fully answer'd *Anthony Harmer*, in a *Letter to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield*.

It is pleasant to see from what *Quarters* the Assaults, with which the Bishop's Work is threaten'd, are to come. Other *Bigots* and *Papists* are to furnish *Magazines*, and carry on the War against this Reverend Prelate's Merit and Reputation; and a Set of obscure, nameless *Scriblers* are hired to write they *don't know what, and don't know how*, to prove that what the Bishop saw with his own Eyes, and heard with his own Ears, is not true. A very noble and equal Match this; and the Success will doubtless be as equal, *Truth against Falshood, Learning against Ignorance, Fame against Infamy*. I shall not in the following Pages pretend to vindicate any Part of the *History of the Times*: Farther than to observe in general, that there reigns a Spirit of Piety in it, which is by no Means consistent with Insincerity. The great Author did not intend to court or affront any Party or Persons. If Facts plainly and faithfully told made for or against them, they must e'en take the Consequence. All History will have the same Effects, especially if written in a Period so full of Divisions and Distractions as is that he writes of. He never design'd to let his Work be
pub-

publish'd, till he was out of the hearing of the Applause and Clamour which he knew would necessarily follow it. Consequently he did not concern himself in its Fortune, farther than in his Hopes that it wou'd *make himself and Readers wiser and better, and lay open the good and bad of all Sides and Parties, as clearly and impartially as he himself understood it, concealing nothing that he thought fit to be known, and representing Things in their natural Colours, without Art or Disguise.* His Services to our Church and Nation were so important, that he wanted no new Merit. He was justly exalted to, and had been many Years in Possession of one of the highest and richest Ecclesiastical Preferments. He had acquir'd the Character of one of the best Writers of the Age both Abroad and at Home. He had put all Opposition to Silence, and seen his and the Nation's Enemies cover'd with Confusion and Shame. A Triumph over these was too poor a Reward for so considerable a Labour, and there was little left to tempt him as to Interest or Ambition. Impotence disarms the Generous, and he cou'd have no View in an Undertaking commenc'd almost in his *Climacterick*, but to serve God and his Country. Mens Passions at that Age very rarely set them in a Flame, unless animated by a Divine Zeal for the publick Good. And can one imagine, that a Godly, Grave, Intelligent Bishop, who had no Reason to think but he was daily approaching very nearly the tremendous Bar, at which the Souls of Righteous and Unrighteous must receive their eternal Doom; Can one imagine, I say, that such a Man wou'd appeal to it in so solemn a manner to *judge according to his Integrity*, if what he said was not true, or he did not sincerely believe it to be so?

CHAP. II.

Of the History of King James I.

A. D.
1602.

I Cou'd easily furnish my self with Materials for this Work, but finding it already done in a Discourse said to be written by a Minister of State, entitled, *A short History of Standing Armies*, I shall transcribe what he writes; and the Reason why I give a short History of this King, is to let the Reader have some Knowledge of him, which he can never get in Mr. *Echard's*; and by comparing this History with his, form a Judgment of the Sincerity and Use of both.

"No sooner was King *James* come to the Crown, says that noble Author, but all the Reputation we had acquir'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* Glorious Reign was eclips'd, and we became the Scorn of Nations.

See how Mr. *Echard* introduces him.

All People began soon to dry up their Tears, and to cast their Eyes towards the BRIGHT NORTHERN STAR, which was now to glide and influence the whole Island.

And how he influenc'd and guided it, will be seen by continuing his History out of the same Treatise.

"We were contemn'd even by that State we had created, who insulted us at Sea, seiz'd *Amboyna*, *Poleroon*, *Seran*, and other Places in the *East Indies*, by which they engross'd the most profitable Trade of Spices, fish'd upon our Coast without paying the customary Tribute, and at the same Time prevail'd with the King to deliver up the Cautionary Towns of *Brill*,
" *Rame-*

“ *Ramekins*, and *Flushing*, for a very small Con-
 “ sideration, though there was Six Millions Ar-
 “ rears. He squander’d the publick Treasure,
 “ discountenanc’d all the great Men, who were
 “ rais’d in the Glorious Reign of his Predecessor,
 “ cut off *Sir Walter Raleigh’s* Head, advanc’d
 “ Favourites of his own, Men of no Merit, to
 “ the highest Preferment; and to maintain their
 “ Profuseness, he granted them Monopolies, in-
 “ finite Projects, prostituted Honours for Mo-
 “ ney, rais’d Benevolences and Loans without
 “ Authority of Parliament. And when these
 “ Grievances were complain’d of there, he com-
 “ mitted many of the principal Members without
 “ Bail or Mainprize; as he did afterwards for
 “ presuming to address him against the *Spanish*
 “ Match. He pardon’d the Earl of *Somerset* and
 “ his Wife, for *Sir Thomas Overbury’s* Murder,
 “ after he had imprecated all the Curses of Hea-
 “ ven upon himself and his Posterity, and it was
 “ generally thought because the Earl was acces-
 “ sary to the poisoning Prince *Henry*. He per-
 “ mitted his Son-in-Law to be ejected out of his
 “ Principalities, and the Protestant Interest to be
 “ run down in *Germany* and *France*, while he
 “ was bubbled Nine Years together, with the
 “ Hopes of the *Spanish* Match, and a great For-
 “ tune. All our Histories, even *Eckard’s* own
 History informs us of King *James’s* discounte-
 nancing the King of *Bohemia* in his Enterprize
 upon that Kingdom, but none of them are so
 honest or so knowing as to tell us, He, on the
 contrary, us’d his Endeavours to advance the
 Duke of *Savoy*, a bigotted Papist, to that
 Throne, Preparatory to the Imperial. *James*
 the First, King of *Great Britain*, says *Monsieur*
Deageant, in his Memoirs, instead of inciting
 the Prince *Palatine*, his Son in Law, dissuaded
 him

him from it, and was of Opinion that the Duke of Savoy ought to be regarded. One of the English Ministers of State imparted this to me, that I might inform the King thereof, Lewis the XIIIth, and induce him to prosecute this Design, &c. Again, He solicited me to endeavour to invite the King to make use of his Interest with the Electoral Princes that were his Friends, as he intended to do with those that were his; promising also to raise Forces to assist the Duke of Savoy in his Election and Enstalmment. All this in Opposition not only to the Husband of his most deserving Daughter, but the Head of the Protestant Interest in the Empire; whom several Popish Powers were for advancing, to humble the House of Austria. Echard pretends to have seen Deageant's Memoirs, but he takes not the least Notice of these Passages, which wou'd very much confirm the Belief of the Archbishop of Embrun's Negotiations; wherein he was so successful, that the King promis'd him to turn Papist upon Consummation of the French Match. This is the Prince who spoke with the Spirit of God, against the Presbyterians at the Hampton-Court Conference, if you'll believe Archbishop Whitgift, and Archdeacon Echard. These Things bearing hard on the Character of this King, as a good Church of England Man, instead of telling you Deageant publish'd his Memoirs himself, at the Command of the Cardinal de Richlieu, and that he had read the Archbishop of Embrun's Letter, containing a full Account of King James's Conversion to Popery, dated the 3d of March, 1635; he flurs over both these Authorities, saying, of these Two French Authors we can say no more, than that the Credit of their Narrative must be left to all Nice and Impartial Readers of this Reign. What does this Author affect by his Impartiality and Nicety;

but that to believe any Thing contrary to the Perfection of King *James* the First's Character, is Stupid and Partial? To continue my *short History* of that King.

"Afterwards he made a dishonourable Treaty
 "of Marriage with *France*, giving the Papists
 "Liberty of Conscience; and indeed, as he of-
 "ten declar'd, he was no otherwise an Enemy
 "to *Papery*, than for their deposing of Kings,
 "and King-killing Doctrine. In *Ireland* he gave
 "them all the Encouragement he durst, which
 "Policy has been follow'd by all his Successors
 "to the present Reign, and has serv'd them to
 "Two Purposes; one is, by this they have had
 "a Pretence to keep up *Standing Armies* there,
 "to awe the Natives; and the other, that they
 "might make use of the Natives against their
 "*English* Subjects. In this Reign that ridicu-
 "lous Doctrine of Kings being *Jure Divino* was
 "coin'd, never before heard of even in the
 "*Eastern* Tyrannies. The other Parts of his Go-
 "vernment had such a Mixture of *Scaramouch*
 "and *Harlequin*, that they ought not to be spo-
 "ken of seriously; as *Proclamations* upon every
 "Trifle, some against talking of News; Letters
 "to the Parliament, telling them he was an Old
 "and Wise King, that State Affairs were above
 "their Reach, and therefore they must not med-
 "dle with them, and such like Trumpery. But
 "our Happiness was, this Prince was a great
 "Coward, and hated the Sight of a Soldier, so
 "that he could not do much against us by open
 "Force.

What follows is taken out of the Bishop of *Salisbury's History of his Times*.

When King *James* came to be of Age in *Scot-land*, he hearken'd to the Insinuations of *Profess'd Papists*. He made the Duke of *Lenox*, a Crea-
 M
 ture

ture of France, and a known Papist, his Favourite. He disguis'd or deny'd every Thing that was observ'd in his Behaviour, that gave Offence to England. The Jealousies of his Fickleness in Religion were never remov'd, and gave him many Disgusts, till they wrrought in him a most inveterate Hatred of Presbyteryn. He made Elphinston, a Papist, Secretary of State; and Seaton, another Papist, Lord Chancellor. He wrote a Letter to the Pope, to assure him he would continue at Popery. He lost the Union of England and Scotland by an unreasonable Partiality, in pretending that Scotland ought to be consider'd as the Third Part of the Isle of Great Britain; if not more. He engag'd his whole Government to support Episcopacy, which was then very contrary to the Spirit and Genius of the Nation. However, he intended to carry Matters still farther; but thro' Sloth or Fear, or by Reason of the great Disorder to which his ill Conduct brought his Affairs in England, he put a Stop to his Design on Scotland. His eldest Son Prince Henry was so very little like his Father, that he was rather fear'd than lov'd by him; and Colonel Titus assur'd the Bishop of Sarum, that King Charles the First told him, Prince Henry was poison'd by the Earl of Somerset. He had an invincible Aversion to War, and was so possess'd of the Opinion of the Divine Right of all Kings, that he could not bear that an Elective and Limited King, such as Bohemia, shou'd be call'd in Question by his Subjects. He broke the Greatness of the Crown of England, by squandering away its Lands and Wardships. His Proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh, were thought both barbarous and illegal.

His Reign in England was a continu'd Course of mean Practices. It was not easy to persuade the Nation of the Truth of Gowry's Conspiracy.

For, says the Right Reverend Author, Eight Years before that Time, King James, on a secret Jealousy of the Earl of Murray, then esteem'd one of the handsomest Men of Scotland, yet on the Marquis of Huntley, who was his mortal Enemy, to murder him; and by a Writing under his Hand he promis'd to save him Harmless for it. Then they set the House in which Murray was on Fire, and the Earl flying away was follow'd and murder'd; and Huntley sent Gordon of Buckey with the News to the King. Soon after all who were concern'd in that vile Fact were pardon'd, which laid the King open to much Censure. And this made the Matter of Gowry to be less believ'd, though an Anniversary Day was appointed to be kept holy in Remembrance of this Deliverance.

“ Among a Number of other Novelties, to use
 “ Mr. OSBORN'S Terms, he brought a new Ho-
 “ liday into the Church of England, wherein God
 “ had publick Thanks given him for his Maje-
 “ sty's Deliverance out of the Hands of Earl
 “ Gowry”. All that follows is very agreeable to
 the Declamations on Two or Three of our Sta-
 turable Holidays. “ This fell out upon August 3,
 “ on which many Lies were told, either at Home
 “ or Abroad in the Choir of St. Paul's, &c. for
 “ no Scotsman you cou'd meet with beyond Sea
 “ but did laugh at it, and said, the Relation in
 “ Print did murder all Possibility. But I will
 “ not wade farther in this Business, not knowing
 “ how dangerous the Bottom may prove, being
 “ by all Men's Report foul and bloody.

Notwithstanding all which, Mr. Echard boldly asserts, Earl Gowry plotted to seize the King. Gowry was one of the Presbytery, and it is no wonder his plausible Answers, as the Historian calls his reasonable Vindication, cou'd not procure him Justice, nor so much as Compassion from

from the Author, who has this mean Reflection upon him at parting: He made the common Regret, *If he had serv'd God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that End.* When the Historian is in a Rapture of Panegyrick on the Piety and Wisdom of this King, I hope the Reader will remember the Deaths of the Earls *Murray and Gowry.*

Besides Proofs of these Facts, I cou'd produce many more of the same Kind, but I leave it as an ungrateful Task, and only Mr. *Echard's* gross Partiality and Adulation have drawn so much from me.

The Reader may now venture upon his History, and keeping this faithful and short one in View, will know what Judgment to make of him in this and the following Reigns: For the same Design and the same Spirit conduct the whole. The Character of King *James* before he came to *England*, is copy'd after Bishop *Burnet*; and yet Archdeacon *Echard* assures us, *no King of England ever came to the Throne with greater Love and Reputation*; and so grateful was he to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he was more sensible of Wrongs done to her than himself.

We have hinted in the preceding Pages some Circumstances, to shew what Temper Archbishop *Whitgift* was of, and how signally it appear'd in the Tragedy of Mr. *Penry*: Yet Mr. *Echard* very seriously affirms, *he endeavour'd only to bring over People by Sweetness and Gentleness.*

King *James* having made a long Speech to his Parliament about *Kingship* and Subjection, *that Assembly*, says the Historian, *admir'd his Abilities, and he, as it were, triumph'd upon a Throne of the Peoples Love and Duty.*

This Author does not give one room for Remark; every Sentence executes it self, as was said

of the Glorious Treaty of *Utrecht*. If the Reader will be at the Pains to go through this King's Speech, he will soon see what Reason the Parliament had to be in such Admiration; and if what *Echard* says was true, wou'd conceiv' as ill Opinion of their Abilities, as they had a good one of the King's.

In the Fifth Year of his Reign he made a tedious one about the *Scott* Union, beginning with these pretty Gingles, *As there is but Unus Rex, so there ought to be but Unus Grex and Una Lex, and I do not intend to give England the Labour and Sweat, and Scotland the Fruit and Sweet.*

It seems King *Henry* the IVth of *France*, who certainly understood Men as well as any Man, did not admire King *James* the 1st's Abilities so much as *Mr. Echard* does. *President Juvenin*, the French Minister in *Holland*, wrote to his Master, that King *James* was never sincere with the *Hollanders*, whom he condemn'd for REBELLING against *Spain*; and King *Henry* in his Answer owns, he knew his Intentions towards the State, but his Carriage did not break his Sleep; adding, I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his People.

The Historian however can never say enough of his Wisdom and Piety, Edit. ult. p. 379, 380, and gives us another Touch of his Eloquence in another Speech.

God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure; so Kings can give Life and Death, judge all and be judg'd of none; they can exalt low Things, and abase high Things, making the Subjects like Men at Chess, a Pawn to take a Bishop or Knight. Though the Author is wonderfully delighted with the Counsels and Glory of this Reign, with the Beauty of the Language and Sentiments of King *James*'s Speeches, &c. yet I

can-

cannot follow him : I see nothing but what is trifling, or even ridiculous in the one, and weak and inglorious in the other ; consisting chiefly of Ridings, Feastings, Creations, Births, Marriages, Burials, Audiences, and other pompous Ceremonies, unequal to the Dignity of History, but elaborately set forth in this.

Amidst the *State Tumors* in France, and the *State Dropsy* in Germany, he tells us, *King James's grand Care and Concern was for his only Son Charles* ; as appear'd some Time after by his sending him to Spain on as errant a Piece of Chivalry as ever the Knight of *Mancha* went upon.

The bloody and illegal Treatment of Sir *Walter Raleigh* is not only generally abhor'd, but confess'd by almost every Writer that speaks of it. Yet Mr. *Echard* cannot help, in his usual way, to impute it to *Divine Vengeance*, for his unjust swallowing such large Portions of the Church's Revenue in *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign. God Almighty be prais'd, that these *Makers of Judgments* are not the *Dispensers of them*.

When *King James's* Son-in-Law, the King of *Bohemia*, and his religious and beauteous Queen, were driven out of Germany by the *Papists*, the King of England said, *He would engage his Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood to restore them*. After this solemn Protestation from a pious and wise King, what can one expect less than raising of Armies, and fitting out of Fleets ? But instead of that, we hear only of Ambassadors posting from one Court to another with big Words, so little minded, that they were the Jest of Nations. Even the dullest whetted their Railery on this Occasion ; and in a *Flomish* Farce, a Messenger is introduc'd, bringing News of a mighty Army preparing to recover the *Palatinate*. The King of *Denmark* sends 100000 pick'd Herrings, the

Hollanders 100000 Butterboxes, and the King of England 100000 Ambassadors. In one Place they pictur'd the Historian's *Rex Pacificus* with a *Scabbard* without a *Sword*; and in another, with a *Sword* which none could draw, tho' several pull'd at it: And at *Brussels* he was painted with his Pockets hanging out, and no Money in them. But what was sufficient to provoke the Pity and Indignation of every human Breast, much more of a Father and a King, at *Antwerp* they painted that excellent, tho' unfortunate Princess the Queen of *Bobemia*, like a poor *Irish Mantler*, with her Hair dishevel'd, and her Child on her Back, the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her. Every one of these Pictures had suitable *Motto's*. Such *Derisions*, says *Echard*, and *Reflections* were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation. The same King, of whom the same Author tells us Archbishop *Whitgift*, the greatest Persecutor that ever dishonour'd the Church of *England*, said, *I am verily persuaded he spoke by the Spirit of God in Favour of Episcopacy, the Common-Prayer Book, the Surplice, Cross in Baptism, &c.* *Osborn*, who liv'd at that Time, and was an Attendant on the Court, writes thus: " This
 " *Schism* was not any ways dangerous, till King
 " *James*, more it may be thought out of *Osten-*
 " *tation*, to shew such Parts as are nothing ne-
 " cessary, than Reason of State, only requisite
 " in a Prince, made it considerable, by putting
 " it in Competition with the Doctrine generally
 " profess'd in a *Colloquy* held before his Royal
 " Person at *Hampton-Court*; till that dishonoura-
 " ble *Dispute*, who should command, the *Dioce-*
 " san or the *Priest*, none did boggle at the *Sur-*
 " *plice*, *Cross*, *Ring*, and so by consequence the
 " *Common-Prayer Book*, but out of pure Consci-
 " ence, and therefore unlikely to hurt any body
 " but

“ but themselves ; till the Number increasing to
 “ such a Proportion, made a visible Profit appear
 “ to so many, as wanting better Employment,
 “ could but conform their Words and Looks to
 “ these *Precisians*. They grew upon the King’s
 “ *Disputation*. Nor did the notorious *Debau-*
 “ *chery* of the Episcopal Clergy add a little to
 “ the Rent.

Would the Reader have ever been able to find out, by Mr. *Echard*’s History, that the Growth of *Puritanism* was owing to a Disputation, in which the King spoke against it by the *Spirit of God* ; or would ever have learnt, that the *Debauchery* of the Clergy was a great Promoter of it ? *The Court Sermons*, continues Mr. *Osborn*, told him that he might, as *Christ’s* Vicegerent, command all ; and that the People, if they deny’d him, were under the severest *Curse*. A few Lines afterwards, he describes what was not to be deny’d the King. *The Nation by this Time was grown feeble, and overpress’d with Impositions, Monopolies, Aids, Privy-Seals, Concealments, pretermitted Customs, Forfeitures, penal Statutes, with a Multitude of Tricks more to cheat the English Subjects.*

When the Historian comes to the Character of King *James*, he tells you with a grave Air, *It is really true, that besides several valuable and amiable Qualifications, he had an admirable Pregnancy of Wit, a Promptness and Elegancy of speaking ; was mild, peaceful, and munificent ; which I repeat, to explain what I mean by Sophistry in History.*

If by *Mild* he understands *Soft*, by *Peaceful* *Timorous*, by *Munificent* *Profuse*, it is really true ; if otherwise, false and fopistical.

We have seen some of the Elegance of his Speeches ; and whoever has a mind to see more, may

may have enough in *Eckard's* and other Histories. *Wilson*, who wrote this Reign, was Secretary to the Earl of *Essex*; and *Mr. Osborn*, who has left some Memorials of it, was a Gentleman of a good Family, and generous Education. Both wrote of Times in which they liv'd; and whoever writes now of them, may very well be suspected, if they write contrary to what they have written.

Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I. and *Osborn's Memorials of King James I.*

CHAP. III.

Of the History of King Charles I.

WHEN *Mr. Eckard* gives the Reader a List of his Authors, in his Preface to this Reign, the Writers on the King's Side have all their Titles and Dignities, and those on the Parliament's hardly a Christian Name bestow'd upon them. I mention this, as much a Trifle as it is, to shew the Temper of the Man, and give a Sample of his Impartiality in the very Preface, which abounds so much with Boasts of *Sincerity* and *Candour*.

Thus you have *Doctor Perinches*, *Doctor Heylin*, *Doctor Nalson*, *Doctor Hollingworth*, &c. excellent Names! for the King: For the Parliament, plain *Ludlow*, *Peyton*, *May*, Men of Quality and Learning; whereas his *Doctors* have nothing to recom-

recommend them; but their Degrees, which he denies to *Calamy* and *Walker*, for not being of the same Kidney.

I shall enquire into the Characters of his *Dollors*, when I have other Occasion to speak of them; and here only have a Word or two for *Hollingsworth*, who made himself talk'd of by his 30th of January Sermon, and a foolish Attempt to prove that *Icon Basilike* was written by King *Charles* the First, in Opposition to the Declarations of Dr. *Faulden*, the Author, King *James* the Second, the Earl of *Anglesey*, and Dr. *Walker*, who carry'd it to the Press, as he avers in a Treatise he publish'd A. D. 1692. wherein he says of *Hollingsworth's* Assertions, *His Story has not one word of Truth, nor the least Blush or Appearance of Possibility.* Again; *I have not so much to fear your Confutation, as you have to fear the War denounc'd against those who put Darknes for Light, and Light for Darknes.* This is one of our Historian's most famous Authors.

He begins King *Charles* the First's Reign very prettily, with assuring us, that if a Man could deserve a Crown, by running at a Ring, or shooting with a Cross-Bow, King *Charles* would have acquit'd a new Title to the Sovereignty.

That the Reader may have a right Notion of the History of this King's Reign, I shall follow my Method in the former, and transcribe what is said of it in the *Short History of a Standing Army*. State Tracts, Vol. II. p. 657, & seq.

After reading this, any one may by Comparison perceive, how much we are indebted to Mr. *Echar's* Integrity and Humanity.

“King *Charles* was a great *Bigot*, which made him the Darling of the *Clergy*; but having no great Reach of his own, and being govern'd by the *Priests*, who have been always unfortu-

“nate

"nate when they meddled with Politicks, with a
 "true Ecclesiastical Fury he drove on to the De-
 "struction of all the Liberties of *England*. This
 "King's whole Reign was one continu'd Act a-
 "gainst the Laws. He dissolv'd his first Parlia-
 "ment, for presuming to enquire into his Fa-
 "ther's Death, though he lost a great Sum of
 "Money by it, which they had voted him. He
 "enter'd at the same Time into a War with
 "France and Spain, upon the private Piques of
 "Buckingham, and manag'd them to the eternal
 "Dishonour and Reproach of the *English* Na-
 "tion; witness the ridiculous Enterprizes upon
 "Cadiz, and the Isle of Rhee: He deliver'd Pe-
 "nington's Fleet into the French Hands, betray'd
 "the Rochellers, and suffer'd the Protestant Inte-
 "rest in FRANCE to be quite extirpated. He
 "rais'd Loans and Excise, Coat and Conduct-Mo-
 "ney, Tonnage and Poundage, Knighthood and Ship-
 "Money, without Authority of Parliament; im-
 "pos'd new Oaths on the Subjects, to discover
 "the Value of their Estates; imprison'd great
 "Numbers of the most considerable Gentry and
 "Merchants, for not paying his Arbitrary Taxes.
 "Some he sent beyond-Sea, and the poorer Sort
 "he press'd for Soldiers, whom he kept on Free
 "Quarters, and executed Martial Law upon
 "them. He granted Monopolies without Num-
 "ber, and broke the Bounds of the Forests. He
 "created Arbitrary Courts, and enlarg'd others;
 "as the High-Commission Court, Star-Chamber
 "Court, Court of Honour, Court of Requests, &c.
 "and unspeakable Oppressions were committed in
 "them, even to Men of the first Quality. He
 "commanded the Earl of Bristol, and Bishop of
 "Lincoln, not to come to Parliament: Commit-
 "ted and prosecuted a great many of the most
 "eminent Members of the House of Commons,
 "for

“ for what they did there ; some for no Cause at
“ all, and would not let them have the Benefit
“ of the *Habeas Corpus* : Suspended and confined
“ Archbishop *Abbot*, because he would not Li-
“ cense a Sermon that asserted *Despotick Power*,
“ whatever other Cause was pretended. He su-
“ spended the Bishop of *Gloucester*, for refusing
“ to swear never to consent to alter the Govern-
“ ment of the Church. He supported all his Ar-
“ bitrary Ministers against the Parliament ; tel-
“ ling them, *He wonder'd at the foolish Impudence*
“ *of any one, to think he would part with the mean-*
“ *est of his Servants upon their Account* : And in-
“ deed, in his *Speeches*, or rather *Menaces*, he
“ treated them like his *Footmen*, calling them *Un-*
“ *dutiful, Seditious, and Vipers*. He brought un-
“ heard-of *Innovations* into the Church, preferr'd
“ Men of *Despotick Principles*, and inclinable to
“ *Popery* ; especially those *Firebrands, Land,*
“ *Montague, and Manwaring* : One of whom had
“ been complain'd of in Parliament ; another
“ impeach'd for advancing *Popery*, and the Third
“ condemn'd in the *House of Lords*. He dispen-
“ sed with the Laws against *Papists*, and both
“ encourag'd and preferr'd them. He call'd no
“ *Parliament* for Twelve Years together, and in
“ that Time govern'd as Arbitrarily as the *Grand*
“ *Signior*. He abetted the *Irish Massacre*, as ap-
“ pears by their producing a *Commission* under
“ the *Great Seal* of *Scotland*, by the Letter of
“ *Charles the Second* in Favour of the Marquis
“ of *Antrim*, by stopping the Succours which
“ the Parliament sent to reduce the *Rebels* Six
“ Months under the Walls of *Chester*, by his en-
“ tering into a *Treaty* with them after he had en-
“ gag'd his Faith to the Parliament to the con-
“ trary, and bringing over many Thousands of
“ them to fight against his People. It is endless
“ to

to enumerate all the Oppressions of his Reign; but having no Army to support him, his Tyranny was precarious; and at last his Ruin. Though he extorted great Sums of Money from his People, yet it was with so much Difficulty, that it did him little Good. Besides, he spent so much in foolish Wars and Expeditions, that he was always behind Hand. Yet he often attempted to raise an Army.

Under the Pretence of the Spanish and French War, he levy'd many Thousand Men, who robb'd and destroy'd wherever they came. But being unsuccessful in his Wars Abroad, and press'd by the Clamours of the People at Home, he was forc'd to Disband them.

In 1627, he sent over 30000 Pounds to raise 3000 German Horse, to force his illegal Taxes; but this Matter taking Wind, and being examin'd by the Parliament, Orders were sent to countermand them.

In the 15th Year of his Reign, he gave a Commission to Strafford to raise 8000 Irish to be brought into England; but before they could get hither, the Scots were in Arms for the like Oppressions, and march'd into Northumberland, which forcing him to call a Parliament prevented that Design, and so that Army was disbanded. Soon after he rais'd an Army in England to oppose the Scots, and embark'd with them to march to London and dissolve the Parliament. But this Army being compos'd for the most Part of the Militia, and the Matter being communicated to the House, who immediately fell on the Officers who were Members, as Ashburnham, Wilmet, Pollard, &c. the Design came to nothing. After this there was a Pacification between the King and the Scots,

and the Members of the House of Commons.

“ Scots, and in Pursuance of it, both Armies
“ were Disbanded.

“ Then he went to Scotland, and endeavour’d
“ to prevail with them to invade England. But
“ that not doing, he sent a Message to the Par-
“ liament, desiring their Concurrence in the rais-
“ ing 3000 Irish to be sent to the King of Spain;
“ to which the Parliament refus’d to consent, be-
“ lieving he would make another Use of them.

“ When he return’d to London, he pick’d 300
“ or 400 Dissolute Fellows out of the Taverns,
“ Gaming and Brothel Houses, kept a Table for
“ them, and with this goodly Guard, all arm’d,
“ he enter’d the House of Commons, sat down
“ in the Speaker’s Chair, demanding the Deli-
“ very of Five Members; But the Citizens com-
“ ing down by Land and Water with Muskets
“ on their Shoulders, to defend the Parliament;
“ he attempted no farther. This so enrag’d the
“ House, that they chose a Guard to defend them-
“ selves against future Insults: And the King soon
“ after left London.

“ Some Time before this began the Irish Re-
“ bellion, where the Irish pretended the King’s
“ Authority, and shew’d the Great Seal to justify
“ themselves; which whether true or false, rais’d
“ such a Jealousy in the People, that he was
“ forc’d to consent to leave the Management of
“ that War to the Parliament; yet he afterwards
“ sent a Message to them, telling them, he would
“ go to Ireland in Person, and acquainting
“ them, that he had issued out Commissions for
“ raising 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse in Cheshire
“ for his Guard, which they protested against,
“ and prevented.

“ Then the Civil Wars broke out between
“ him and his People, in which many bloody
“ Battels were fought. At last by the Fate of

“ War,

" War, the King became a Prisoner, and the
 " Parliament treated with him, while in that Con-
 " dition. They voted at the same Time, that
 " some Part of the Army should be Disbanded,
 " and others sent to *Ireland* to reduce that King-
 " dom. Upon which the *Army* chose *Agitators*
 " among themselves, who presented a Petition to
 " both *Houses*, that they would proceed to settle
 " the Affairs of the Kingdom, and declare that
 " no Part of the Army should be Disbanded, 'till
 " that was done. But finding their Petition was
 " rejected, they sent and seiz'd the King's Per-
 " son from the Parliament's Commissioners, drew
 " up a Charge of *High Treason* against *Eleven*
 " *Principal Members*, for endeavouring to Dis-
 " band the Army, and enter'd into a private
 " Treaty with the King. But he not complying
 " with their Demands, they seiz'd *London*; and
 " notwithstanding the *Parliament* had voted the
 " King's *Concessions* a good Ground for a future
 " Settlement, they resolv'd to put him to Death;
 " and in order thereto purg'd the House, as they
 " call'd it; that is, plac'd Guards upon them, and
 " excluded all Members that were for agreeing
 " with the King.

Here's a faithful History of the Reign of King
Charles the First: Indeed nothing is extenuated,
 and very few Things heighten'd by Aggravation.
 Is there the least Likeness between this and the
 Earl of *Clarendon's* and Archdeacon *Echard's* Hi-
 stories? Will you not therefore every-where meet
 with *Glosses*, *Misrepresentations*, *False Lights*,
Sophistical Arguments, and bold *Affertions*? Look
 back on *Echard's* Two Armies of Epithets, and
 see what *Heroes* and *Saints* are list'd on King
Charles's Side; what *Cravens* and *Scoundrels* on the
 Side of the Parliament; whose History is thus
 continu'd by the Author of that of a *Standing*
Army,

Army, said to be written by a Great Minister, and one that did not highly approve of the Administration at that Time; the latter end of King *William's* Reign.

“ After this the *Army* let the *Parliament* govern Five Years, who made their Name famous through the Earth; conquer'd their Enemies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, reduc'd the Kingdom of *Portugal* to their own Terms, recover'd our Reputation at Sea, overcame the *Dutch* in several memorable Battels, secur'd our Trade, and manag'd the publick Expences with much Frugality: They were at last passing an Act for their own Dissolution, and settling the Nation in a Free and Impartial *Commonwealth*; of which the *Army* being afraid, thought it necessary to dissolve them. The Reader will find no Distinction in Lord *Clarendon* or Mr. *Echard's* Histories, between the Persons that acted before the *Impeachment* of the *Eleven Members*; and the Violence put upon both *King* and *Parliament*; and the Persons that acted under the Usurper *Cromwell*. They confound the Government Civil and Military, and make the Actors all alike *Traitors* and *Rebels*. For though they often want Facts, they never want Names, the shortest and only way to be too hard for their Opponents.

In my *Short History* 'tis said farther,
 “ When the *Army* had done this Wonder of Violence, the Council of Officers set up a new Form of Government, and chose a certain Number of Persons out of every County and City of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, whom they invested with the *Supream Power*, but soon after expell'd them, and set up *Cromwell*, and fram'd a *New Instrument* of Government by a *Protector*, and a *House of Commons*: in Pursu-

"ance of which he call'd a Parliament : But they
 "not answering his Expectation, he excluded all
 "that would not subscribe his *Instrument* ; and
 "those that remain'd not proving for his Purpose
 "neither, he dissolv'd them with a great deal of
 "opprobrious Language. He then divided *Eng-*
 "*land* into several *Districts*, or Divisions,
 "and plac'd Major-Generals or Intendants over
 "them, who govern'd like so many *Bashas*, de-
 "ciminating Cavaliers, and raising Taxes at their
 "Pleasure : At last, forsooth, he had a mind to
 "make himself King, and call'd another Parlia-
 "ment to that Purpose, after his usual Manner
 "secluding such Members as he did not like. To
 "this Assembly he offer'd another *Instrument* of
 "Government, which was by a *Representative*
 "of the People : A Second House, compos'd of
 "Seventy Members, in the Nature of Lords,
 "and a single Person, and left a *Blank* for what
 "Name he should be call'd, which this worthy
 "Assembly fill'd up with *King* ; address'd *Crom-*
 "*well*, that he would be pleas'd to accept of it,
 "and gave him Power to nominate the Mem-
 "bers of the *other House*. This the great Offi-
 "cers of the Army resented, for it destroy'd all
 "their Hopes of being *Tyrants* in their Turn ;
 "and therefore they address'd the Parliament a-
 "gainst the Power and Government of a *King* ;
 "which made *Cromwell* decline that Title, and
 "content himself with a greater Power, under
 "the Name of *Protector*. Afterwards he nam'd
 "his other House, for the most Part out of Of-
 "ficers of the *Army* : But even this Parliament
 "not pleasing him, he dissolv'd them in a Fury,
 "and govern'd the Nation without any Parlia-
 "ment till he dy'd.

Here

Here *Oliver's* Usurpation is represented so fairly, and yet so frightfully, that one can't but abhor it much more than his Picture in *Echard*, though he has written *Devil Incarnate* under it, that we might know what it is; a Shift which some other such Painters are often forc'd to make Use of. We see plainly in this *Short History*, that the Author detested *Cromwell's* Proceedings, tho' he approv'd of those of the *Lords* and *Commons*, during the *Civil War*, and thought the *Commonwealth* afterwards govern'd wisely and gloriously. He finishes this Period thus:

" After *Cromwell's* Death, the Army set up
 " his Son *Richard*, who call'd a new Parliament;
 " but the Soldiers not liking them, they forc'd
 " him to dissolve them. Then they depos'd him,
 " and took the Power into their own Hands:
 " But being unable to weild it, they restor'd the
 " *Commonwealth*, and soon after expell'd them
 " again, because they would not settle the *Arbi-*
 " *trary Sword* independent of the *Civil*. They
 " then govern'd the Nation by a *Council of War*
 " at *Wallingford House*, and chose a *Committee of*
 " *Safety* for the *Executive* Part of the Govern-
 " ment; which *Whim* lasted but a little Time,
 " before they chose *Conservators of Liberty*; and
 " that not doing neither, they agreed that every
 " Regiment should chuse Two *Representatives*,
 " and this worthy Council should settle the Na-
 " tion. When they met, sometimes they were
 " for calling a *New Parliament*, sometimes for
 " restoring the Old, which was at last done. By
 " this Means all Things fell into Confusion, which
 " gave *Monk* an Opportunity of marching into
 " *England*, and restoring the King with Part
 " of the *Army* which had cut off his Father's
 " Head.

Thus does this judicious Writer give you a faithful and short History of King Charles the First, and the *Interregnum*, till the *Restoration* of King Charles the Second, to which I might add a Volume or Two of like Matter; but I chose to make use of his very Words, for that though my Authority would not weigh against the Earl of *Clarendon's* and Archdeacon *Echard's*, yet his will. I confess his Fidelity is preferable to his Elegance, and he does not seem to have study'd *Colouring* so much as *Likeness*. Besides, his Picture is in *Miniature*, and theirs at full Length, with so many Decorations and Ornaments, that 'tis rather all *Show* than *Substance*.

The Reader having carefully run over what my Author says of this Period, may look into the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*, without Fear of being misled, whatever Endeavours have been us'd to impose upon him.

[A. D.
1626.
King
Charles I.

The first Occasion of Disgust between King Charles and his Parliament, was his protecting Mr. *Richard Montague*, who had asserted the *Divine Right of Arbitrary Power*, in a Treatise, entitled, *Appello Cæsarem*. His Cause, says *Echard*, was recommended to the Duke of Buckingham, as the Cause of the Church by several Bishops, who insisted upon it that King James approv'd the Opinions in the Book.

Mind the Reasoning here of these Reverend Persons, if the *Historian* speaks Truth. *Montague* is to be excus'd because he is the Church, and his Opinions justify'd, because they were King James's: The quite contrary of which is only true, that *Montague's* Cause was not the Cause of the Church, and his Opinions not the better for that King's approving them.

Sir *John Elliot*, a *Cornish* Member of *Parliament*, was one of the most zealous against *Montague*

gue and Grievances. Upon which Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* does what I little expected from him, as being not entirely a Stranger to his Opportunities: He tells you boldly, he will lay open the very Springs of Sir *John Elliot's* Resentment, and I shall shorten the Story, but it is to this Purpose as he makes it. To tell us, and a boog of it have to Sir *John Elliot* had been great with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and travell'd with him Abroad. When he return'd to *England*, he stabb'd a Neighbour of his, Mr. *John Moyle*, whom he hated, for a Trifle, and under Shew of a Visit kill'd him as he thought. Immediately Sir *John* goes to his Friend and Fellow-Traveller the Duke to get him a Pardon, but that could not be got, without laying down a considerable Sum. News came soon after, that the Dead Man was alive and lusty, and there being no need of a Pardon, Sir *John Elliot* apply'd to the Duke to have the Money refunded, which not being to be had, he became his mortal Enemy, as he had good Reason for keeping his Money for nothing. Though I very much suspect the whole Narrative, yet I will touch upon some of the Circumstances. The Historian insinuates by all this, that whatever *Elliot* said about Grievances, was not out of Zeal for the Publick Good, but out of Malice to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Is it likely a Man should be in so much Haste to fling away his Money, as to buy a Pardon before he knew whether he wanted one or not? I will do the Historian the Justice to acknowledge, that after he has given his own entire Assent and Consent to the Truth of this Fact, he says Dr. *Prideaux* told him so. If Authority will prevail against Probability, I submit; only I am satisfy'd the following Part of the Story will be allow'd to be false, when to lessen Sir *John Elliot* further, the same Author assures you, He was a

Gentleman of a new Family. I wonder the Doctor, who he tells us is Sir John's Grandson, should not have inform'd him better, for the *Elliot*s were one of the oldest Families in the *West of England*. The Reader will observe I am not afraid of this *Historian* nor his Authorities, when I pursue him even in so good a one as that of a Grandson, whose Merit I very much respect, and doubt not of his acquiescing in what I write. The *Elliot*s seated themselves at the Priory of St. *Germain*s, now *Port Elliot* in *Cornwall*, about the Year 1340, Eighty Five Years before Sir *John Elliot* was chosen Burgefs for that Borough, 1 *Car. 1.* This is nothing to what I shall transcribe out of Mr. *Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria*, to prove the Falseness of the Assertion, that the *Elliot*s were a new Family. *Daniel Elliot*, Esq; Grandson of Sir *John*, was Burgefs for St. *Germain*s in several late Parliaments, and Father-in-Law to Mr. *Willis*, who writes thus in the Article of that Borough.

Of the Antiquity of the *Elliot*s, it being expected I should say something, I hope the Reader will pardon my making a little Excursion, while I shall only remark, that they flourish'd Ten Generations in *Devonshire* before they transplanted themselves hither, and had match'd into several considerable Families in that County, as the *Bonviles*, *Sigdon*s, *Cotlands*, *Sumasters*, *Fitz*, *Carefswells*, &c. Anno 1433. Temp. Hen. VI. *Walter Elliot*, Esq; was return'd among the Gentry of *Devonshire*: And to this Family, as it should seem by the Arms, was ally'd Sir *Richard Elliot*, made by King *Henry VIII.* one of the Justices of the King's Bench, who was, as I take it, Father to the famous Sir *Thomas Elliot*. There may be much Malice sometimes in saying Things that are true of a Man, But when they

injure him and are not true, I think it deserves another Name.

When the Parliament would give no Money without Redress of Grievances, and the King, to use *Whitlock's* Terms, exacted a Loan from his Subjects contrary to Law, how tenderly does this Historian tread upon it? The Project of borrowing of the People by their own Consents, was first try'd. How heartily they consented, will appear by the several Remonstrances against it in *Engelworth's* Collections, and the Imprisonment of the Gentlemen that refus'd it.

The King being inclin'd to give the Parliament Satisfaction in the Affair of *Montague*, he tells us, when *Laud* heard it, he sigh'd and said, I see a Cloud arising, and threatening the Church of ENGLAND; but does not speak a Word of the same. *Laud's* forbidding the Marshal of *Middlesex* to search the *Chink Prison* for *Papish* Priests who were conceal'd there. *Whitlock* mentions it, and other such Matters, very honestly.

Here we may observe, that *Laud* again makes *Montague* the Church of England; and, in Imitation of him, every Little Vicar and Curate sets himself up for the Church. His Dues are all due to the Church; and a Sixpenny-Piece cannot go beside him, but 'tis wronging the Church, and downright Sacrilege. When the grand Intendary *Sackverell* was call'd to Account for Sedition, it was said to be Arraigning the Church. The Mischief of it is, the most unworthy and meanest of the Profession assume to themselves this venerable Name, to protect them against Reproof and Animadversion.

As the Historian delights mightily in Descriptions of Coronations, Marriages, Funerals, Processions, &c. in which the Clergy are chief Actors, so he gives you a long and pompous Description

of King Charles the First's Coronation; and affirms he was cloath'd in White, not out of Necessity, but out of Choice, to declare the Virgin Purity with which he came to be espous'd to his Kingdom. This is so very silly, that I question whether it is true or not: And therefore must look into *Whitlock* again; who tells us, *The King was not crown'd till Christmas, his Robe White Satin, Purple not being to be had.* But, false or true, Mr. *Echard's* Reflections upon it, and the *Antitheses* are exceeding pretty, as the *Robe of Majesty*, and the *Robe of Innocence*, &c. The next Man he falls foul upon, is Dr. *Turner*; who, for making his famous *Queries* in the House of Commons, has one of the Historian's Military Epithets bestow'd upon him, that of *inconsiderable*. This Dr. *Samuel Turner* was Burgess for *Shaftsbury* in *Dorsetshire*, and deserves a kinder Word from him, because he afterwards deserted the Assembly at *Westminster*, and became *considerable*, by sitting in King *Charles's* Mongrel Parliament at *Oxford*.

When the odious Tax of *Ship-Money* was order'd to be levy'd, and *Dorsetshire* and *London* petition'd against it, alledging there was no Precedent of its being rais'd in that Manner; to which Answer was made, as in *Whitlock*, *Precedents in former Time were Obedience, and not Direction*. Mr. *Echard* words the Answer much more handsomely; *Petitions and Pleadings against a necessary Command, do but obstruct the Publick Service, and therefore are not to be admitted.* Which, in plain English, is this; to petition against the Levying an illegal Tax, contrary to the Will and Pleasure of the King, and to the Interest of his Creatures and Ministers, do but obstruct the Measures of arbitrary Power, and therefore are not to be admitted. The Author condemns the unreasonable Violence of those Members of Parliament who spoke against

against the Duke, and complain'd of Grievances; and says, his Grace made a full Defence.

I should never have done, if I took Notice of such Things as these, which I call *Glosses* and *Misrepresentations*, corrupting the *Virgin Purity* of *History*. I must observe once for all, that in running over his Books, I have mark'd several Hundreds, of which a few will serve to give an Idea of the Author's boasted Impartiality.

Whoever delights in Stories of *Apparitions*, *Revelations*, *Inspirations*, *Magick*, *Healings*, and the like, will be fitted by him, and with Pleasure find the Story of the *Ghost* transplanted from my Lord *Clarendon's History* to *Echard's*, which is indeed the more proper Soil for such Weeds.

Mr. *Echard* has one of the prettiest ways of softening Things that I ever met with. Thus he melts down *Tyrannical Proceedings* into *disobliging Measures*, and he can turn to the other Hand when he pleases; and then *Impeachments* and *Remonstrances* are *Disturbers of Parliament*, the *Robbers* Rebels, the *Book of Sports* a *Pious Intention*, *Bishop Juxon* a *Wonderful Treasurer*, *Puritans* Cheats tho' not *Whoremasters*, &c. Innumerable are the Instances of this Kind in him, too tedious and too hateful to repeat; yet he closes the Chapter with saying, *Thus with all Simplicity and Fidelity we have gone so far*.

The Reader will find so many *Panegyricks* on *Bishop Laud*, that if he had really been a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, as he represents him, he could not have said more of him; whereas there's nothing so certain in his Character, as *Pride*, *Cruelty*, *Bigotry*, and invincible *Obstinacy*.

An eminent Minister of the Church of *Scotland*, Dr. *Alexander Leighton*, Father of the holy Archbishop of *Glasgow*, whose seraphick Virtues are so celebrated by *Bishop Burnet*, having published

list'd a Book, entitl'd, *A Plea against Prelacy*; *Laud* procur'd this *Divine* to be prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber*; where he was condemn'd to be imprison'd during the King's Pleasure, to pay 10000 Pounds, to be twice pillory'd, and barbarously whipp'd, to have both his Ears cut off, to have his Nose slit, to have his Face stigmatiz'd. Which Sentence, says *Eebard*, was executed upon him with full Severity; but then he adds, *His Obstinacy requir'd this Punishment*: So bloody and inhuman, that I question whether a Lay-Judge could have invent-ed it against a Learned Religious Preacher.

If any bold Writer had dar'd to publish a History so full of Reflections against the Constitution in the Reign of King *Charles the First*, as the *Archdeacon's* is against the Principles of the Revolution, on which the Constitution in the present Reign is founded; would *Laud* have been contented with a Pillory and Whipping, with Ears and a Nose? Let the Historian think of that a little, and how much he is indebted to the Lenity of the Government.

We are in the next place entertain'd with a Miracle: A new Star in the Heavens in a clear Sky at the Birth of a Prince, afterwards King *Charles the Second*. When the Reader comes to his Character in the Bishop of *Salisbury's* History, he will doubt whether the People could see clear when they discover'd this Star, or whether their Judgments are not in a very thick Cloud, who could think such a Prognostick worthy the Happiness the Nation enjoy'd in that Prince's Reign.

There is not a Man mention'd, whose Character he has labour'd so much as Bishop *Laud's*; and there's hardly a Character in his History which deserv'd his Labour less. He was a Man

of great Parts, says our Author, great Learning, an elevated Thought, and vigorous Mind; of a diffusive, generous, and heroick Spirit, and adorn'd with unquestionable Honesty and Integrity. Suppose this Language was translated as follows; "He liv'd about twenty Years in Oxford, and had read a good deal. He was haughty, severe, domineering, bigotted, and obstinate. Does not this better agree with what Judge *Whitlock*, an intimate Friend of his, said of him? *Whit. Mem.* p. 32. *That he was too full of Fire; and his Want of Experience in State-Matters, and his too much Zeal for the Church, and Heat, if he proceeded in the Way he was in, would set this Nation in a Flame.*

If the Author of the *Secret History of Europe* had had this Quotation before him, he would not have been so cautious in relating a Passage concerning Archbishop *Laud*, which is reported on the Credit of the last *Kere*, Earl of *Oxford*. When King *Charles the First* was a Prisoner in *Holmby-House*, that Noble Lord had Leave to be confin'd with him; and his Lordship one Day deploring the Fate of this Archbishop, who had lost his Life for his Majesty. For me? reply'd the King hastily; No, he dy'd for his own Ambition; and that you may be sensible of it; I'll give you an Instance of his Temper. He persuaded me to write Letters to the Protestant Princes and States of Europe, and propose to them, that *He*, as Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should be own'd and declar'd by them to be the Metropolitan and Head of all the Protestant Churches; which when they utterly declin'd, he would have had me declare War against them, and shed the Blood of my own Subjects and of my Friends. This agrees at least with what Judge *Whitlock* says he knew of the Man; and on that Foot I leave it.

Certain

Certain it is, *Laud* busy'd himself in Court-Affairs to a Scandal, and tempted Dr. *Juxon* to do the same. Dr. *Preston* a Puritan, and one of the greatest Lights of that Age, was offer'd the *Great Seal* in the Beginning of this Reign, but being a Man of Piety and Wisdom he refus'd it. He was too wise to accept it, says Bishop *Burnet*. *Laud* was a very active and assiduous Judge in the *Star-Chamber*, a Court almost as cruel and infamous as the *Inquisition*, and *Juxon* was made *Lord Treasurer*. What would become of the Christian Religion, if all *Pastors* were of this Spirit! What Agreement between the Humility, Simplicity, Modesty, Moderation and Charity of the Primitive Bishops, and the Ambition, Avarice, Haughtiness, Severity and Cruelty of those that liv'd in *Laud's* Time, and follow'd his Example; who, Mr. *Echard* assures us, had the Innocence of the Dove, but not the Wisdom of the Serpent. How consistent is this Dove-like Innocence with the Fire that wou'd set the Nation in a Flame! How he proceeded against Mr. *Prynne*, Dr. *Bastwick* and Mr. *Burton*: How he beggar'd them, imprison'd them, pillory'd them, had their Ears cut off, &c. is told in all our Histories. And whoever has a Curiosity to know more of his Life and Actions, may find it in the Articles of *Impeachment* against him by the House of Commons.

The Malice with which the Archdeacon introduces Mr. *Prynne's* Sufferings, is equally groundless and inhuman. 'Tis well known that *Laud* got *Heylin* to collect some Passages out of *Prynne's* *Histrionastix* written against *Plays*, on Purpose to irritate the Court, who much encourag'd them. The Truth is, there were innumerable Citations and Reflections against such Bishops as *Laud* was, and Church Government, as he manag'd it. Having got a Bundle of *Heylin's* Collections, he carry'd

carry'd them to *Noy* the Attorney-General upon a *Sunday* Morning, fate himself in Judgment upon *Mr. Pryn* and his Fellow Sufferers; and let us see how his Wisdom and Piety shone forth in the Sentence that was pronounc'd against those three Gentlemen, the one a Lawyer, the other a *Physician*, and other a *Divine*. *Mr. Pryn* had been as barbarously us'd before, and therefore was fin'd 5000 *l.* to lose the Remainder of his Ears, to be branded on both Cheeks, to be perpetually imprison'd. The same to *Dr. Bastwick* and *Mr. Burton*. *Echard* tells you, to excuse this Tyranny and Blood, that there were some Things in *Histrionastice* that tended to the Destruction of the King's Person; which needs no Remark. For no body will doubt but that these cruel Persecutors, who cou'd torture and mangle the Bodies of Three Gentlemen better born, and as well educated as *Laud*, wou'd have hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd them, if they had said a word of such horrid Tendency. *Laud* wou'd have the Stumps of *Pryn*'s Ears par'd away. *Pryn* was afterwards a Member in several Parliaments for the City of *Bath*, very instrumental in King *Charles* the II^d's Restoration; and it is to him we owe the admirable Order in which the *Tower* Records are now plac'd.

When *Felton* was brought before the Council after he had assassinated the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Laud* threaten'd him with the Rack to extort a Confession from him: But that Assassin in his Answer shew'd a juster Sentiment of Torture than the Bishop that menac'd him with it: *I cannot tell whom I may nominate in the Extremity of Pain*, but disown'd that any one induc'd him to commit the Murder.

The Words *Vigorous* and *Active* in *Mr. Echard* are almost always to be understood *Cruel* and *Severe*,

vers, especially when apply'd to *Land's* and *Straf-*
ford's Ministry. Indeed his History is so decora-
 ted with Epithets on one Side, and so bespatter'd
 on the other, that there's no coming at a lit-
 tle Truth without removing the Rubbish and
 Flowers.

The infamous Imposition of *Ship-Money* is hard-
 ly a *disobliging* Measure with him. The Glory
 we got at Sea by it, which I never heard of be-
 fore, nor of any Glory at all got in the four
 Reigns preboding the Revolution, seems to him
 a sufficient Ground for the levying it; and he
 blames the People of *England* for insisting on
 their Right in a Trifle of 240000 l. a Year, which
 cou'd not be a *heavy Burthen*. He took an Ob-
 servation from *A. Wood*, that *Selden* in his *Mare*
Clausum stops at the Reign of *Henry II.* because
 it must have open'd a Way to this Tax had he gone
 farther. A very sorry Artifice and ill disguis'd,
 that could not escape the Remark of *A. Wood*
 and *Archdeacon Richard*; but so unworthy the
 Extent and Dignity of *Mr. Selden's* Genius and
 Learning, that they will never be able to per-
 suade us of the Truth of their Discovery.

What is said by our *Historian* of the Judges
 Opinion in Favour of *Ship-Money*, is another
 Gloss and Misrepresentation. He sinks the Ac-
 count *Whitlock* gives of it, that they were flat-
 ter'd and threaten'd into it by *Finch*; and affirms,
Many believ'd with Sir Philip Warwick, that no
body cou'd have led them into it but their Books.
 Who are these many? Are they *Lawyers* and
Men of Sense, such as *Clarendon* and *Whitlock*; or
 Bigots and Favourites, such as *Land* and *Juxon*.
 He adds, These Judges were noted for their *Learn-*
ing and Integrity. How does this agree with a
 Speech by the Lord *Falkland*, on whom he be-
 stows ten or twenty most honourable Epithets in
 the

the Course of his Work. His Lordship is inveighing against *Ship-Money*, and the *Judges*:

You have done nothing, says he to the Parliament, *if you do no more; the Judges shou'd have been as Dogs to defend the Sheep, but have prov'd as Wolves to worry them.* He charges these Men of Learning and Integrity, as the Cause of all our Miseries; and mark'd out *Finch* the Lord-Keeper, as the principal Adviser and Abettor in this Matter. The House of Commons, *Nemine contradicente*, declar'd the Judges Opinion extrajudicial, and condemn'd the Tax. But these very Judges supporting the *Spiritual Courts* cou'd not fail of being highly in his good Graces.

It will be absolutely necessary for the English Reader, when he enters upon the *Historian's* Account of the *Scottish* Troubles, to have *Bishop Burnet's* History by him. He can then receive no Damage in his Sense of Things, which otherwise he wou'd have a very imperfect Notion of. Speaking of the Bishops made by King *Charles I.* in *Scotland*, he names Two or Three advanc'd purely by the Interest of Archbishop *Laud*, particularly *Sydsers* Bishop of *Ross*, who being complain'd of in Council for setting up a Sort of *Inquisition* in his Diocese, gave the Earl of *Argyle* the Lye. He and the other Bishops, to use the Bishop of *Sarum's* Words, were so encourag'd by Archbishop *Laud*, that they lost all Temper; and as Judge *Whitlock* had foretold, by means of this Dovelike Prelate, both Nations were immediately in a Flame.

I cannot omit observing here, that Mr. *Eoband* speaking of this Earl of *Argyle's* Resentment, imputes it to his being refus'd the Office of Lord Chancellor; and this is his Way thro' his whole Work. There's no Person of Consideration in Opposition to Tyranny and Persecution, but his

Motive

Motive is Disgust at some Church or State Disappointment; as if the Ministers of State and the Heads of the Church, Imitators of *Laud's* Measures, were all Doves, and those that complain'd of *Grievances* Ecclesiastical or Civil, had no Reason at all to complain, but were, as he insinuates, *factious*, prejudic'd Fellows, fit Objects for the *wholesome Severities* they met with.

Well may the Rupture between King *Charles I.* and the *Scots* be term'd *Bellum Episcopale*; for *Laud*, *Fuxon* and *Wren* were the Bishops who put the King upon imposing a *Liturgy* and *Canons* on that Church; and *Laud* wou'd hear of no Accommodation, no Delay, tho' press'd to it even by Archbishop *Spotswood*. Yet our Author makes no Scruple of asserting, that *Laud's* real Advice was for Peace: The Proof of which from any Lay Hand I despair of meeting with. Besides imposing the *Service-Book*, *Canons*, *Surplice*, &c. on the Church of Scotland, Bishop *Burnet* takes notice of many other just Occasions of Jealousy and Disgust given them. All that came down from Court complain'd of the King's inexorable *Stiffness*, of the Progress of *Popery*, of the Queen's Power with the King, of the Favour shew'd the Pope's Nuntio. And concludes thus: "The Violence with which that Kingdom did almost unanimously engage against the Administration, may easily convince one, that the Provocation must have been very great, to draw on such an entire and vehement Concurrence against it."

I have already observ'd, that Mr. *Echard's* Method of imputing the Zeal of those Gentlemen who acted for the publick Good, to private *Pique*, is intended to shew that there was really no other Offence given. This wipes off all Stains, and cleanses the Administration from all Impurities.

Motive

2 An-

Another Method he has from first to last to excuse his *Herbes* and *Saints* when beaten and confounded; which is, *If such a Thing, or such a Thing had been said or done, the Roundheads and Puritans wou'd not have had the better.* This Remark concerning his *After-Wit* is almost general in his *History of the Civil Wars*; in which if such a Thing had happen'd, or such a Man been present, or the like, the *Cavaliers* had been always victorious. These Reflections are as poor, as his Miracles, Portents and Judgments are visionary and enthusiastical.

He tells us, notwithstanding the general Provocation before mention'd, *Wise Men have thought, if Two or Three of the Kirk had been put to Death, it wou'd have sav'd the succeeding Torrent of Blood.* These *Lauden Surgeons*, as I have more than once hinted, have no other Cure but *Amputation* and *Phlebotomy*. The Conspiracy against Archbishop *Laud* form'd by the *Jesuits*, is a Piece of History I heartily recommend to the Reader, with the Account of the Hatred which the *Papists* bore him. The Author borrow'd it from Dr. *Heylin*, and assures you Mr. *Wharton* sufficiently confirm'd it. What Sort of Men his *Wharton* and his *Heylin* were, we may learn in Bishop *Burnet's History*. While *Laud's Enemies* did really magnify him by their inhuman Persecution, his Friends *HEYLIN* and *WHARTON* have as much lessen'd him, the one by writing his Life, and the other by publishing his Vindication of himself. Men that can speak such Things with grave Faces, do not deserve Confutation. To repeat what they say, effectually confutes them.

The Preparations the Historian makes for opening the *Long Parliament*, are all very extraordinary and uncommon; but chiefly the great Noises

which were heard by the Lord Say's Servants, when they cou'd see no body in his House.

The Characters of the Leading Men in the Two Houses are servile Copies after Lord Clarendon's, of which a merry Wag said, *They are like Plumbs in an ill-made Pudding, and run all to one Side.*

I shall in the following Pages give some Account of the Authors the Archdeacon takes his Memoirs from; and with great Simplicity names them too in his Preface. I never impose my own Authority on the Reader, knowing full well its Insignificancy, but shall take their Characters even from the Adorers of *Land* and *Strafford*. Among the rest, the Earl of Clarendon himself is charg'd by *A. Wood* of *Oxford*, with several Qualities very incompatible with the Sincerity of an Historian. He tells us he procur'd himself to be chosen a Member of Parliament for *Salisbury*, and that he distinguish'd himself by making warm Speeches against the Court of Honour, against certain Judges; nay, against the very Bishops, being Chairman of the Committee that suppress'd Episcopacy; against the President and Council of the North; against *Ship-Money*, &c. Compare these good Sentiments of his with those in his History, after he chang'd Sides, and was made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Lord Chancellor. *Wood* adds, he was wont to take the King by the *Band-Strings*, and pull him by the Cloak, which was look'd upon to favour of too much Impudence, says the *Oxford-man*. That afterwards, as Chancellor of *Oxford*, he put the University to more Trouble in Seven Years, than his Successors did in Seventeen. That he broke King *Charles* the Second's Match with the Princess of *Parma*, to marry him to the Infanta of *Portugal*. But what is more to the present Purpose, is, that he was guilty of Corruption

tion in his Office of Lord Chancellor. *Arben. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 386.* These are all *A. Wood's* Words, whose Love to the Memory of *Monkery*, exceeds our Historian's. Yet the latter in his Preface, gives himself one of the most insolent *Airs* I ever met with, as if none but Fools and Fanaticks had ever been offended with the Lord *Clarendon* and his History; but when he speaks of such as Censure him, he has one Word for my Lord, and Two for himself. Mr. *Echard's* Art lying generally in the Surface, and discovering it self at Sight, I shall consider that notable Preface of his farther, in the Second Part to this Treatise, and shew both its Bolly and Vanity, which are rather a Subject for Mirth than Criticism; and I shall not dash Pleasantry from that Treatise, though the Importance of the Matter in this wou'd not bear it so well.

When notorious Truth obliges Mr. *Echard*, or his Originals, to speak something well of a Man on the other Side, they are sure to damn all his good Qualities by Two or Three bad ones. Mr. *Hampden's* Character was so conspicuously bright, that they cou'd not help its shining after they had blown upon it. But *Echard* gives you his Word for it, that his Humility was affected; and as none had ever a greater Power over himself, so none was less the Man he seem'd to be. I have said enough of these Pictures; and I say again, the Earl of *Clarendon* had a fruitful and fine Imagination, and a most beautiful Colouring. But, like other great Painters, did not so much consider the Likeness, as the Variety and Beauty. Mr. *Echard* is only a Copier; as faulty as they are in Resemblance, I'm satisfy'd he will not pretend that he cou'd have drawn them by himself. 'Tis admirably well said of *Madam Dacier*, speaking of *Critical Parallels*, It is a most difficult Enter-

prize: The Person who holds the Scale, must in himself have the Strength of the Two Genius's, which he weighs one against the other, or he will let it drop, and it may be on the wrong Side as well as on the Right. Thus in drawing a Character, the Drawer must be capable of thinking, acting, and judging, as well as the Person he describes, for his Draught will be lame and imperfect. Generous Education, Conversation, Politeness, Extent of Knowledge, are but Part of the Qualifications necessary for such a Draughtsman: Fidelity and Judgment must crown the Work, or it will be Horace's Monster, as my Lord Roscommon has translated it. *How well has he drawn which is rather a Subject for which he is not fit in a Picture, Pifo, you should see a handsome Woman with a Fish's Tail, Or a Man's Head upon a Horse's Neck, To Or Limbs of Beasts of the most different Kind, covered with Feathers of all Sorts of Birds. Would you not laugh, and think the Painter mad? Trust me, that Book is as ridiculous.* Many of the Historian's Characters, when I have compar'd them with other Draughts, have had the same Effect upon me. The Day on which the Long Parliament met, was thought ominous, says Mr. Echard; and his Reason for it is equally sagacious and edifying, because the Parliament which sat in Henry the VIIIth's Time, and ended with the Diminution of the Clergy's Power, began the same Day. Truly he has some Ground to cry out an Omen, when at the opening of the Session the Speeches ran vehemently against *Laudan Innovations, Ecclesiastical Courts, Ship-money, Judges, &c.* Sir Harbottle Grimstone said, *The Judges have overthrown the Laws, and the Bishops the Gospel.* Sir Edward Deering

Deering punn'd upon the Archbishop of Canterbury very roughly: Before the Tear runs round, his Grace will either have more Grace, or no Grace at all. Our manifold Grievs do fill a mighty and vast Circumference. Yet so that from every Part our Lines of Sorrows do lead to Him, and point at Him, the Center from whence our Miseries in Church, and many of them in the Commonwealth, do flow. Again, God's true Religion is violently invaded by Two seeming Enemies, but indeed like Herod and Pilate, fast Friends for the Destruction of the Truth: The Papists for one Party, and the Prelating Faction for the other. He declar'd farther, I had rather serve one as far off as Tiber, than to have him come so near as the Thames. A Pope at Rome would do me less Hurt than a Pope at Lambeth. From these and several other Speeches to the same Effect, it appears very plainly that Land and his Creatures were really the Men, who by promoting Superstition, imposing Subscriptions, by severe and arbitrary Prosecutions, by preaching up Despotick Power, and endeavouring to subvert the Constitution in Church and State, had infus'd into the People an Aversion to the Hierarchy. I know the smaller Clergy cannot distinguish themselves under Pious and Worby Prelates, but by Piety and Worth. Under such as Land, Zeal and Flame will serve instead of Merit.

When these zealous and flaming Priests are spoken against, they pretend the Design is against the Church and Bishops, which is as false as their other Pretences. I my self expect a Share of their Fury and Malignity. But take this Occasion to inform the Reader, that as much Abhorrence as I have for the Proceedings of Land and his Creatures in King Charles the First's Reign, I have as great a Veneration for the Sacred Function, and for such Prelates as Tillotson, Tennison,

Wake, Burnet, Willis, Talbot, Gibson, Hoadly, and the Reverend Fathers of our Church, now its Ornament and Safety, as the Historian himself, and cou'd have Proof of it from some of them. It is easy to be prov'd, that *Episcopacy* had never been depress'd as it was by this Parliament, if *Laud, Wren,* and others, had not provok'd them by their Cruelty and Oppression. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* explain'd the Sentiments of every sober Protestant.

Having spoken warmly against the *Becket* and *Wolfey* Prelates, he added, *If I found out one good Cranmer, Latimer, or Ridley, I shou'd esteem them as rich Jewels fit to be set in the King's own Cabinet.*

Mr. Echard, that he may leave no Attempt of the Parliament to secure their Liberties without his Protest against it, gives you at once a Prophecy and a Quibble in Dishonour of the Bill for *Triennial Parliaments*. A Lady writing a Letter into the Country, said, the King had pass'd the *Tyrannical Parliament*, instead of the *Triennial*. 'Tis more than probable, that the Fault was in her Ladyship's Spelling; and yet with such Matter does he adorn his History, looking down in his wonderful Preface upon all Mankind, and expecting their Praise and Adoration.

The Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal is a new Occasion for his Satyr and Panegyrick. On the one Side there's *Mr. Pym* with his Artifices, on the other Side the Earl with his Eloquence. His Speech ready and strong, pleasing and captivating, especially with the Ladies, who every Day took down in writing all that they cou'd preserve of his charming Eloquence. For like Honey some of it wou'd slide thro' their Fingers. And he soon shew'd he could wrestle with all the Managers against him. This is as modest an Expression as one cou'd

cou'd wish for; that is, he had more *Lat* than Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Palmer*, more Learning than Mr. *Selden*, more Eloquence than Mr. *Hampden*, Lord *Digby*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *St. John*. However, in another Place he seems to confess that the Managers were hard enough for him, though to do it he puts a very indecent Pun into the Mouth of the Queen, who asking what Man that was who spoke after the Lord *Digby*, was told Sir *Walter Earl*, and reply'd thus: *That Water Dog could bark but not bite, but the rest bit close.*

His Panegyrick on the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission Courts*, which says he, might have been of excellent Use to the Church, is a great Curiosity, after not a Mortal had dar'd to speak for them in seventy Years Time.

There being an Order for removing all scandalous Pictures, Crosses and Figures then within Churches, he tells us 'twas left to the Management of Sir *Robert Harlow*; and this zealous Knight impartially took down the Cross in *Cheapside*, *Charing-cross*, and other like Mountments, even to the common Signs in the Streets. For, continues he, every Thing that had the least Form of a Cross, was accounted superstitious and damnable. Can there be any viler Sophistry, supposing the Fact to be true, which I will not grant? Was a Cross-beam, or a Cross-bow accounted superstitious and damnable, or any other Cross not intended to imitate a Crucifix? Was it the Figure, or the Worship paid to it, which was accounted Superstition! I can't imagine why he blunders here in the Name of the zealous Knight, which was not *Robert Harlow*, but *Robert Harley*.

With what surprizing Tenderneſs does he speak of the bloody *Iriſh Maſſacre*, in which the *Papiſts* murder'd 200000 Persons. Men, Women and Chil-

Children were most cruelly us'd. The Women *ripped up and treated most filthily and barbarously. The Infants us'd like Toads or Vermin.* All this and a great deal more, which may be found in Sir John Temple and Dr. Jones's Narratives, he calls only an *Astonishing Concussion*, and reserves the *Grand Rebellion* for the Lords and Commons of England. He says, *It had been prevented, if the Earl of Stafford had not been taken off. The complying with the Scots also, may justly be said to be one of the true Causes of this horrid Insurrection.*

Speaking of the Lord Digby's Attempt to raise a Force at Kingston, he tells us, *He went thither accompany'd with Colonel Lunsford in a Coach with Six Horses, and these Six were all the Horse that appear'd, not a Groom or a Footman on Horseback besides.* Then to render it ridiculous by his cold Raillery, he adds, *The Commons immediately order'd the Train-Bands of Sussex and Hampshire to be sent to suppress the said Digby, Lunsford, and their Coach and Six Horses.* And as awkward as he is at *Witticisms*, he throws you out another: *People reported that Colonel Lunsford did eat Children.* If it had not been for his Wit here, I shou'd have pass'd over this new Misrepresentation: We meet with them so frequently, they grow tiresome to repeat. *Whitlock assures us, Digby first appear'd in Arms near Kingston, and Calamy tells it thus: The Lord Digby, and other Cavaliers attempted at Kingston upon Thames to have suddenly got together a Body of Horse; but the Party was dissipated, the Parliament highly resented it, and Digby was voted a Delinquent.*

His whole Story about the Design of bringing the King's Army from the North, is one continual Misrepresentation.

He begins with saying, *The Design of the Conspirators was to observe and defend the Laws, that*

the King might not be compell'd by the Army of the Scots to do any Thing against the Bishops or Arbitrary Power, which he terms *Alteration of the Government of the Church*, and *Diminution of his Majesty's just and legal Authority*. I believe his Language is understood by this Time.

He represents *Goring* as disgusted for not being made a *Lieutenant-General*, and therefore he drew them on farther. Whereas in truth not only *Goring* confess'd the Plot was to awe the Parliament, and make them do what the King should command, but *Sir Jacob Astley*, *Colonel Oneal*, and *Sir Fulk Hunk*, acknowledg'd before the House of Commons, Some near the King had treated with them about bringing up the Army; which, says *Calamy*, satisfy'd many that the King did but watch, while he quieted them with Promises, to master them with Force, and use them at his Pleasure. All the Writers, not of *Laud's* Party, agree in this with the Fact and common Sense. For if these Conspirators were upon nothing illegal and dangerous, why were they so cautious and secret in their Conferences, as to refuse to admit *Sir John Suckling* among them?

When he describes the King's Court at York, he flourishes as if he had already triumph'd over the Two Houses of Parliament, which he calls the *small Remainder at Westminster*; as he says in another Place, The King's Troops of Guards were Men of better Estates than the Two Houses of Lords and Commons that continu'd at London. However, in a Page or two after he owns the King had no Provision for an Army, nor Money to purchase any; and the Prince and Duke eat at his own Table out of mere Want. If so, some of these Lifeguard Men doubtless far'd every whit as well.

When

When he sets up the *Royal Standard* at *Nottingham*, he is quite out of Heart on Account of several ill Omens, but he recovers himself as soon as the King's Men began Fighting, and almost always gives them the Victory. He opens the Scene with *Edgehill-Fight*, and tells Two remarkable Stories, to which the Reader will give like Credit. Several Popish Priests were found among the Dead on the Parliament Side, and Oliver Cromwell out of Cowardice hid himself in a Steeple, while the Two Armies were engag'd. These are Things which one need only take Word for Word from him, to expose their Meanness and Malice.

The Parliament were sensible of the Advantage their General the Earl of *Essex* had obtain'd over the King in that Battel. Both Houses receiv'd him at his Return with all the Marks of Honour, and voted Thanks,

TO REMAIN UPON RECORD IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT FOR A MARK OF HONOUR TO HIS PERSON, NAME AND FAMILY, AND FOR A MONUMENT OF HIS SINGULAR VIRTUE TO POSTERITY.

The Historian has very maliciously chang'd his TYPES here, in a Fancy that the Thanks of the Parliament of *England* to their General in this Glorious Manner would, if the Printer stood by him, be an uncommon Reflection both on the Two Houses, and the Earl of *Essex*.

The Parliament having pass'd an Ordinance for exhorting to the Duty of Repentance, this bold Author asserts, they chose Idolatry and Bloodshed for their Subjects, and made their Devotion a Libel on the King and the Church.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* in his Memoirs of Duke Hamilton, gives an Account of the Scots Affairs under Hamilton and Montrose, which our Histo-

Historian thinks fit to gainsay; because he copy'd after Bishop Guthry, who seems to have had a fuller Information than Bishop Burnet, who had it from Duke Hamilton himself. A Fuller Information is with him in more Places than one, a Report contrary to the Historians who wrote in Defence of the Parliament, or indeed contrary to what he does not like.

The judicious Observation he makes on the Death of Mr. Hampden, deserves not to be forgotten; Many Men observ'd, that Chalgrave Field, where this Gentleman receiv'd his Death's Wound, was the same Place in which he first executed the Ordinance of the Militia.

Among the many Historical Falsities I have, and might have charg'd him with, I think one of the most notorious, is his saying King Charles had but one Field Officer in his Army suppos'd to be a Papist, and that was Sir Arthur Aston.

I have before me a List printed by the Papists, of the Popish Noblemen and Gentlemen that lost their Lives or Estates in his Service. 'Twas Publish'd in King Charles the Second's Reign, with an Intent to incite that Prince to exert his Authority in Favour of them. And as Mr. Echard's Panegyricks and Satyrs consist pretty much in Types, the Papists have printed all their long List in Red Letters, to shew what Bloody-minded Creatures the Parliamentarians were to kill them in so many Battels and Sieges. The whole List would take up several Pages, so I shall insert a Part only.

Popish Lords and Gentlemen in King Charles the First's Army, who were kill'd.

The Earl of Carnarvon.

The Lord Viscount Dunbar.

Sir

Sir John Smith, Baronet.

Sir John Cansfield.

Sir Henry Gage.

Sir John Digby.

Sir Peter Brown.

Sir Nicholas Fortescue.

Sir Trolus Turberville, Captain-Lieutenant
of the King's Life-Guard.

Sir John Preston.

Sir Thomas Tildesley.

Sir Arthur Ashton.

14 Colonels.

17 Lieutenant-Colonels.

14 Majors.

56 Captains.

18 Lieutenants and Cornets.

38 Gentlemen.

Wounded and Sequestered.

Major-General William Webb.

Marquess of Winchester.

Marquess of Worcester.

Lord Cottington.

Lord Langdale.

Piercy Lord Powis.

Lord Somerset.

Lord Arundel of Wardour.

Lord Morley and Monteagle.

Lord Eure.

William Lord Powis.

Sir Walter Blount.

Sir Edward Widdrington, Colonel.

Sir Philip Constable.

Sir John Clavering.

Sir Nicholas Thornton.

And several Hundred more of the same and
inferior Rank.

It

It will be necessary to present the Reader with another List, and that is of the *Assembly of Divines*. For when the Historian comes to speak of them, he tells us from my Lord Clarendon, That *some were infamous in their Lives and Conversations, and most of them of very mean Parts, if not of scandalous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than of Malice to the Church; than which nothing can be more false and malicious.*

Norwithstanding what he says in his Preface, to terrify every one that would offer to object against the Veracity of the *History of the Rebellion* and his own History, I will insert a List of some of the Members of that *Assembly*, and then let the Reader judge of the Truth of the Character that's given them of their *Infamy and Ignorance*. It consisted of Lay Members as well as Ministers.

Algernoon Earl of Northumberland.

William Earl of Bedford.

Philip Earl of Pembroke.

William Earl of Salisbury.

Henry Earl of Holland.

Edward Earl of Manchester.

William Lord Viscount Say and Seal.

Edward Lord Conway.

Philip Lord Wharton.

Edward Lord Howard.

John Selden, Esq.

Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq.

John Glyn, Esq.

Mr. Serjeant Wild.

John Pym, Esq.

William Pierrepont, Esq.

Sir Henry Vane, Sen.

Sir Henry Vane, Jun.

Sir Thomas Clotworthy.

Francis Rous, Esq.

Sir

Sir Thomas Barrington.
 Walter Young, Esq.,
 Sir John Evelyn.
 Edmund Prideaux, Esq.,
 William Wheeler, Esq.,
 Sir Benjamin Rudyard.
 William Twisse, D. D.
 William Gouge, D. D.
 Thomas Temple, D. D.
 Lazarus Scamman, D. D.
 Anthony Tuckney, D. D.
 Henry Wilkinson, Sen. D. D.
 Henry Wilkinson, Jun. D. D.
 William Spurlow, D. D.
 Francis Cheynel, D. D.
 Humphry Chambers, D. D.
 Joshua Hoyle, D. D.
 Edmund Staunton, D. D.
 Peter Smith, D. D.
 John Arrowsmith, D. D.
 John Lightfoot, D. D.
 Edward Reynolds, D. D.
 Cornelius Burgess, D. D.
 Thomas Whitaker, B. D.
 Robert Harris, B. D.
 Oliver Bowles, B. D.
 George Walker, B. D.
 Edmund Calamy, B. D.
 Stephen Marshall, B. D.
 Thomas Valentine, B. D.
 Herbert Palmer, B. D.
 Henry Painter, B. D.
 Thomas Hill, B. D.
 Obadiah Sedgewick, B. D.
 William Mew, B. D.
 Henry Hall, B. D., &c.

I shall not animadvert upon the before-mention'd Passage farther than to observe, 'tis very probable Mr. Echard had read Dr. Calamy's Reflection upon it, and his List of *this* Assembly, before he copy'd from the Lord Clarendon, yet he would not lose an Opportunity of leaving them as dirty as he found them.

Dr. Calamy reflects upon it thus

"This is a very heavy Charge upon such a
"Body of Men as they were. Though my Lord
"Clarendon was undoubtedly a very great Man,
"yet this Censure won't recommend his History
"to Posterity, who will be hard put to it to find
"Men of more exemplary Piety, and more emi-
"nent Ministerial Abilities among their Proge-
"nitors in any Age, than these were, whom he
"endeavours at any Rate to expose. Who can
"give Credit to him as an *Historian*, who shall
"represent such Men as Dr. Twiss, Bishop Rey-
"nolds, Dr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Light-
"foot, Mr. Gataker, &c. as Men of *Scandalous*
"Ignorance?"

Life of
Baxter,
P. 84.

Or who believe that so many Noble Lords, so many learned and eminent Knights and Gentlemen, so many famous Lawyers, and so many Reverend Divines would consent to be of a Company with such ignorant and scandalous Fellows?

How the Dignity as well as Truth of History is supported in his Works, may be seen by his Relation of the Rise of Cromwell, wherein he rather takes Measure of him like a *Taylor*, than describes him as an *Historian*. His first Appearance was apparelled in a *Cloth Suit*, made by an *ill Country Taylor*. His *Linnen* mean, and not very clean; his *Band* unfashionable, with a *Speck* or *Trout* of *Blood* upon it, a very bad Omen that: His *Hat* without a *Hatband*; his *Sword* close to his *Side*. What a Man here is, to make himself Master of

Three

Three Kingdoms, and to become more formidable to all the Powers of Europe than ever was this King, his Father King James, or his Two Sons? No Man can vindicate the entire Character of the *Usurper*, yet I can't but take Notice of the Barrenness of such Minds as can record these Trifles in General History.

We are told of *John White, Esq;* Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons for ejecting Scandalous Ministers, that he dy'd Distracted, crying out, *How many Clergymen, their Wives and Children have I undone!* In Baxter's Life you have it thus: "The House of Commons appointed a Committee to hear Petitions and Complaints against the Scandalous Clergy. Multitudes came up immediately to Town from all Quarters, with Petitions against their Ministers, charging them with *Insufficiency, False Doctrine, Illegal Innovations, or Scandal.* Mr. White published a Century of them, which was afterwards follow'd with a *Second Century*, both fill'd with most abominable Particularities, the of concealing which had certainly been a much greater Service to Religion than their Publication, which was making Sport for *Papists, Atheists, and Profane* men.

The Authors our Historian made Use of, could not avoid writing Encomiums on their Patron, Archbishop *Laud*. *Heylin* wrote for Money as well as Malice, and abuses every Man that comes in his way, if he was not such a Churchman as *Laud*. *A Wood*, who cannot hide his good Will to Popery, speaks however so plainly of this *Heylin*, that had not Mr. *Richard* been in Love with his Principles and Temper, he would never have copy'd him as he does. *Wood* tells us he was very *conceited and pragmatical*, and though of very mean

mean Part and Preference; yet hold undaunted, and too high and proud for his Function. In a word, that he was too much a Party to be an Historian. The Archdeacon was of another Mind, and this Caution from the *Oceanus*, *A Wood*, was thrown away upon him. The Faction he wrote for, have always been Enemies to the City of London, except in those wretched Times, when Priestcraft has made them the prevailing one there. And *Heylin* wrote a Book, call'd the *Black Cross*, to prove the *Londoners* were the Cause of the Rebellion.

There is not one Author of Worth and Reputation, who has given *Bishop Laud* a good Word, as to his Politicks, Spiritual and Temporal. *Heylin* is as dull and impertinent, as he is malicious and inveterate. *Nelson* tedious, confus'd, and vicious both in Style and Sentiment. About the Time of the Discovery of the *Ropish Plot*, this *Nelson* was seiz'd and imprison'd for a Seditious Libel, by Order of the House of Commons, which shews us how much his Authors are all of a Piece; and what Enemies to the true Protestant Religion and Liberty. Another of his Authors *Manley*, is false and trifling; *Perincheff*, *Drummonds*, *Barrow*, *Wagstaff*, *Namells* and *Obscure*. *Dugdale* was a Man of Labour, and Master of our Monkish Antiquities. However, his *View of the Troubles* is a very poor Performance; but Peace be to its Mares; it being dead and forgotten, for the sake of his *Baronage*. As to *Perincheff*, he was let to Work by *Royston* the Bookseller, and is the same who in a Sermon on the 30th of January, affirm'd to his Auditory, that a Handkerchief with some Specks of King *Charles* the First's Blood, had cur'd many Distempers with a Touch only.

He wrote a Book against *Liberty of Conscience* to Protestant Dissenters, and put his Name to a Romance about *Exor. Basilius*, though the Matter was collected or invented by one *William Fulman*, who falling Sick, *Roxton* hir'd this Doctor to publish it.

The best of his Authors, Sir *Philip Warwick*, has a fair Character in Bishop *Burnet's* History, *An honest but weak Man*; though there are others that will by no Means allow his Honesty; as *A. Wood* from an Anonymous Writer, who says of him, *that he never lies more than when he professes to speak the Sincerity of his Heart*. I affect to give the Characters of the Authors *Echard* copies, from *A. Wood*, for that they were both of the same Stamp, *flam'd* in the highest Degree, and zealous for the Hereditary Right, Spiritual Tyranny and Persecution. As for his *Barrow*, *Simmons*, and *Wagstaffe*, they had never been nam'd, if he had not call'd them out of their Obscurity to his Assistance. *Heylin* and *Nelson* are favourite Authors with him, and no wonder, *Land* is represented as a *Saint* and *Martyr*. His

When the Bishop's Head was cut off upon an Impeachment of *High Treason*, &c. Such was his triumphant End, cries Mr. *Echard*; as upon another such Occasion, a Man being hang'd in the same Cause, *he dy'd nobly*; or in a more proper Cant, *he went off Bluff*. Now on what Ground Bishop *Land's* Triumphant End was erected, we shall see by the Account the Bishop of *Salisbury* gives of him.

He was a hot and indiscreet Man, eagerly
 “ pursuing some Matters that were either very
 “ inconsiderable or mischievous; such as setting
 “ the *Communion Table* by the East Walls of the
 “ Church, bowing to it, and calling it the *Altar*;
 “ the suppressing the *Walloon* Privileges; the
 “ break-

breaking of Lectures; the Encouragement of
 Sports on the Lord's Day; with some other
 Things that were of no Value: And yet all
 the Heat and Zeal of the Time was laid out
 on these. His Severity in the Star-Chamber,
 and in the High-Commission Courts; but above
 all, his violent and indeed inexcusable Injustice
 in the Prosecution of Bishop Williams, were
 such visible Blemishes, that nothing but the
 putting him to Death in so unjust a Manner,
 could have rais'd his Character; which it did
 to a Degree of setting him up as a Pattern,
 and the establishing all his Notions, as Stan-
 dards by which Judgments were to be made of
 Men, whether they are true to the Church or
 not. His Diary represents him as an abject
 Fawner on the Duke of Buckingham, and as a
 Superstitious Regarder of Dreams. His De-
 fence of himself, writ with so much Case when
 he was in the Tower, is a very mean Perfor-
 mance. He intended in that to make an Ap-
 peal to the World. In most Particulars he ex-
 cuses himself by this, That he was but one of
 many, who either in Council, Star-Chamber,
 or High-Commission, voted illegal Things.
 Now though this was true, yet a Chief Mini-
 ster, and one in high Favour, determines the
 rest so much, that they are little better than
 Machines acted by him. On the other Occa-
 sions he says, the Thing was prov'd but by one
 Witness; now how strong soever this Defence
 may be in Law, it is of no Force in an Appeal
 to the World. For if a Thing is true, 'tis no
 matter how full or defective the Proof is. The
 Thing that gave me the strongest Prejudice
 against him in that Book is, that after he had
 seen the violent Effects of his Ill Counsels, and
 had been so long shut up; and so long at Lei-

“ sure to reflect on what had past in the Hurry
 “ of Passion in the Exaltation of his Prosperity;
 “ he does not in any one Part of that great
 “ Work, acknowledge his own Errors, nor mix
 “ in it any wise or pious Reflections on the un-
 “ happy Steps he had made, &c. Which in short
 is, that *being a hot indiscreet Man*, having been
 guilty of much *Injustice and Severity*, and at once
 a *Farmer and Persecutor*, he was himself persecu-
 ted, and dy’d insensible of his Offences. *Such*,
 says Mr. *Echard*, *was his triumphant End*.

Among all his *Encomiums*, nothing more charms
 me than his *Panegyrick on Baker’s Chronicle*; that
Elaborate Work, as he terms it, which has been
 the Contempt of all *Judicious Readers* these
 Thirty or Forty Years, and as is said in a *Comedy*,
 only lies now with *Dalton*, &c. in the *Country*
Justices Window.

When he wrote of Mr. *Chillingworth’s* Death
 and Burial, he pick’d a Passage out of *A. Wood*,
 which I leave to the Faith of the Reader, Dr.
Cheyne, once *Margaret Professor of Divinity* in
Oxford, and *President of St. John’s College*, was
Rector of Petworth in Sussex, when Mr. *Chilling-*
worth was bury’d there; and *Echard* tells us, that
 the Doctor throwing *Chillingworth’s* famous Book
 against the *Papists* into the Grave after the Corpse,
 cry’d out, *Get thee gone thou cursed Book, which*
hast seduced so many precious Souls; thou corrupt
rotten Book, Earth to Earth, Dust to Dust; get thee
gone into the Place of Rottiness, that thou mayst
rot with the Author, and see Corruption. He then
 assumes a serious Air, and as if the Fact had been
 true in all its Circumstances, says, *An Usage that*
needs no Reflection or Aggravation. I have often
 wish’d that these Writers would only preserve
Probability, but they run Riot alike against the
True and the Probable. It happens *A. Wood*, speak-
 ing

ing of Mr. *Chillingworth*, who was so zealous for the Cause as to quit his *Vocation*, and act the Engineer in *Gloucester* and *Arundel* Castle, tells us, that being taken Prisoner in the latter by Sir *William Waller*, this very Doctor *Cheyne* was the Man who interceded with Sir *William* for *Chillingworth's* Liberty; in which Intercession he so far prevail'd, as to procure him a commodious Confinement in the Episcopal Palace at *Chichester*, where he was civilly us'd to his Death by the same Dr. *Cheyne*.

We are now come to the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and in the first Place find Dr. *Stuart*, with his Fellow Doctors, asserting the Divine Right of Episcopacy, having been accounted an Institution of Christ by the most Learned of all Ages: Boldly asserted this, and as boldly repeated. The most learned Lawyer in the last, and the most learned Lawyer in this Age, the Great *Selden*, and the Lord Chancellor _____ have said the quite contrary, besides 100 more Writers on the same Subject. *Selden* publish'd a Book in Greek and Latin, by the Name of *Eutychius*, with Notes upon it to prove, That Bishops did not otherwise differ from the rest of the Presbyters, than doth a Master of a College from the Fellows; and that by Consequence they differ'd only in Degree, not Order. As to the other great Lawyer, let him procure an Answer to that unanswerable Treatise, entituled, *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church*. What would these Men have! Is it not enough that the Laws of our Country establish the Hierarchy, and the People readily obey them? Did it consist with the Day, that *Palls*, *Spiritual Courts*, *Cathedrals*, *Honours* and *Revenues*, should be instituted by Christ himself? If as *Binius* says in 1 *Can. Apostol.* the Names of Bishop and Presbyter were promiscu-

ously us'd for 200 Years after Christ; Why do not they distinguish between the Divine Right proceeding from the real Gift of the Holy Ghost, in the Exercise of the Ministerial Function, whether *Bishop* or *Presbyter*, which is entirely Spiritual; and the Right which the *Law* gives with respect to *Temporals*?

The Pride of these Men is such, that under Pretence of holding their Rights immediately from God, they would throw off Dependency on the State, and be their own and our Governors. As to the Ministerial Function of a Bishop, it was never yet disputed by a reasonable Creature; but they will needs confound *Temporals* and *Spirituals*, and make the one as much *Jure Divino* as the other. Why was not the *Historian* so fair as to insert a Speech made by the Marquis of Hertford, one of the King's Commissioners at *Uxbridge* Treaty, after Dr. Stuart and the other Doctors had been heard; as also the opponent Ministers.

My LORDS,

Here is much said concerning Church Government in the General. The Reverend Doctors on the King's Part affirm, that Episcopacy is *Jure Divino*; the Reverend Ministers on the other Part do affirm, that Presbytery is *Jure Divino*; for my Part, I think that neither the one nor the other, nor any Government, whatsoever, is *Jure Divino*; and I desire we may leave this Argument.

How much the Royal Cause was oblig'd to *Montrose*, by that Lord's breaking off the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, will appear in Dr. *Welwood's* Memoirs. His Rashness and Bravado's so animated the King, that he would not grant the Concessions which were necessary for Peace.

Officers

Officers of the Parliament Army.

Horse.

Colonel Middleton,

Algernon Sydney, Esq;

Colonel Greaves,

Colonel Sheffield,

Colonel Vermuden,

Colonel Whalley,

Sir Michael Livesay,

Colonel Fleetwood,

Colonel Rossiter,

Sir Robert Pye,

Foot.

Colonel Crayford,

Colonel Berkley,

Colonel Aldridge,

Colonel Holburn,

Colonel Fortescue,

Colonel Montague,

Colonel Pickering,

Colonel Wellden,

Colonel Rainshorough,

Who, says Echard, had not all together 1000 Pounds a Year in Land. It will not bear Reflection nor Aggravation. He adds, the Officers of this Army were mean Tradesmen;

Tailors,

Brewers,

Goldsmiths,

Shoemakers.

Some such there were, and since they did their Business so well, that mean Remark might have been omitted, had himself been a Person of Quality:

lity: Does any Man value the Memory of that Gallant Officer, *Lieutenant-General Wood*, the less, for his having been a *Linnen-Draper*: Or did any one upbraid the German General *Saupe*, with his having been a *Drummer's Boy*, when he held the *Imperial Battoon*? I could name many a brave Officer in the late Duke of *Marlborough's* Victorious Army, who pass'd his first Years in a *Shop*, or a *Counting-House*.

Much Debate has been about the Book ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, and our Historian writes, that tho' it is not mention'd by the Earl of *Clarendon*, 'tis incontestably prov'd to be the King's, by a Cloud of Witnesses. What a Forehead must a Man have to say it is incontestably prov'd, after so much had been said to the contrary, even by *Dr. Walker*, who carry'd the Manuscript to the Printer, at the Desire of *Dr. Gauden*, who wrote it? Did not *Walker* and the Earl of *Angelsey* not only contest, but put it out of all Doubt, that King *Charles* was not the Author; which I never suppos'd he was before. I had read a Word about it, and look'd upon the Dispute itself to be a Jest. There's so much undisguis'd Art in the Design, so much Singularity in the Style, and both agree so little with that Prince's Sentiments and Language in all his Speeches, that I made no Question but it was writ to have the Effect *Bishop Burnet* says it had: *The Piety of the Prayers made all People cry out against the Murder of a Prince, who thought so seriously of all his Affairs, in his Meditations before God*: But even the most pious of those Prayers, *Will'd* A Prayer in Time of Captivity, is taken almost Word for Word from the Prayer of *Pamela* to a Pagan Deity, in *Pembroke's* *Ardena*, a Romance, Edit. 1674, p. 248. A few Lines after, that Right Reverend Father proceeds thus:

In the Year 1673, in which I had a great
 share of Favour and free Conversation with the
 then Duke of York, afterwards King James the
 Second, as he suffer'd me to talk very freely
 to him about Matters of Religion; and as I
 was urging him with somewhat out of his Fa-
 ther's Book, he told me that Book was not
 of his Father's Writing. What rare Evi-
 dence must the Historian's Cloud of Witnesses be?
 Against that the Letter to the Prince of Wales was
 never brought to him: He said Dr. Gauden
 writ it. After the Restoration, he brought the
 Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Southampton
 both to the King and to himself, who affirm'd
 that they knew it was his Writing: And that
 it was carry'd down by the Earl of Southamp-
 ton, and shew'd the King, during the Treaty
 of Newport, who read it, and approv'd of it,
 as containing his Sense of Things. Upon this
 he told me, that though Sheldon and the other
 Bishops oppos'd Gauden's Promotion because
 he had taken the Covenant, yet the Merits of
 that Service carry'd it for him. There has
 been a great deal of Disputing about this Book;
 some are so zealous for maintaining it to be the
 King's, that they think a Man false to the
 Church that doubts it to be his.
 The Two important Negotiations with the Ve-
 netians and Turks for the Service of King Charles
 against the Parliament, being no where else to
 be met with, will recommend themselves to the
 Reader, especially that very wise and honourable
 Proposal of the King's Ambassador to the Turk,
 That since the Parliament had got Possession of the
 King's Revenues, after they had been forc'd upon
 a long expensive War in Defense of their Liber-
 ties and Properties, he wou'd give License to the
 said

said Ambassador to seize the Effects of the English Merchants in Turkey, who were far enough off both King and Parliament, and cou'd not concern themselves in the Quarrel. I wou'd not have told this Story had I been the Author, nor wou'd I have gone on such an Errand had I been the Ambassador, who indeed paid too dearly for his Folly, and had his Head cut off on Tower-Hill.

Mr. Archdeacon Echard highly commends King Charles for not suffering Mr. Marshall and Mr. Caryl, two Puritan Divines, to say Grace for him at Holdenby. An excellent Temper, not to permit two Protestant Ministers to pray for him! That too shou'd not have been told, and such Slips as these shew us what a miserable Thing Zeal is without Discretion.

Of Mr. Marshall he says elsewhere he was a Country Parson in Essex. Wou'd he not be very angry, if I shou'd say of himself, he's a Country Parson in Lincolnshire. He might have improv'd the Matter much by repeating A. Wood's own Words, which afford us a Taste of the Spirit and Elegance of such bigotted Academicks.

'Tis said, Marshall on a time put himself more forward than was meet to say Grace, and while he was long in forming his Chaps, as the manner was among the Saints, and making ugly Faces, his Majesty said Grace himself, and was fallen to his Meat, and had eaten some Part of his Dinner before Marshall had ended the Blessing. But Caryl was not so impudent.

What a Happiness it is that these Writers have had the Benefit of Longinus's excellent Rules for the Sublime. Tho' Mr. Echard has in a great measure robb'd the Parliamentarians of their Saints, and with an incredible Partiality made the

King's the *sober Party*, yet that is an Innovation in History: The King's Men never pretended to it, and you see *A. Wood* banters the Parliament's for having more Religion than became them.

To speak seriously, 'twas an Observation during the whole Course of the War, as *Whitlock* tells us, that the *Word* in the Parliament's Army was always Religious, and in the King's always *Prophane*. But of late Years the *Laudeans*, without either Piety or Hypocrisy have set up for the *godly Party*, and are now carrying on a *successful* War against *Socinians*, *Arians*, and other ignorant illiterate Scepticks.

In the Year 1647, our Historian complains that the Times were *dismal Dark*, made up all of *Black Mondays*, and *Infamous*; and I do not expect they will brighten with him, till the *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of Church Worship, and the Prerogatives and the Revenues of the Dignitaries are restor'd.

The next Year, If it had not been for something, the Earl of *Norwich* with the *Kentish* and *Essex* Rabble wou'd have totally routed the Parliament's Veteran and Victorious Army.

I abhor the Murder of the King as much as Religion and Duty oblige me to do it, and have not a Word to insinuate in Excuse of the Murderers: But what happen'd upon it, as told by our Author, rather provokes Raillery than moves Compassion. Upon the Rumour of it throughout the Kingdom, Women miscarry'd, many of both Sexes fell into Palpitations, Swoonings and Melancholy, and some fell down dead.

He had here a fair Opportunity of showing his Impartiality, by mentioning the Protestation of the Presbyterian Ministers against the King's Tryal and Death. They drew up an Address to the Lord General, declaring their Abhorrence of all
Vie-

Violence against the Person of the King. This was signed by Sixty of their Clergy about London, whose Names are in *Calamy's Baxter's Life*, p. 61. and I mention it to shew the Malice and Ignorance of some Ecclesiasticks, who on certain Anniversaries, and at other Times, never fail of charging the Presbyterians with the Murder of the King, though they were the only Men in England that appear'd publickly against it.

Bishop *Juxon*, who had been Lord Treasurer, was pitch'd upon by King *Charles I.* to assist him with his pious Offices at the Time of his Death; and tho' what the Historian says of the Conferences between the King and the Bishop is very poor and unedifying, the Bishop's Part at least; yet he introduces him often as performing to Perfection on so melancholy an Occasion: Whereas Bishop *Burnet* informs us that *Juxon did the Duty of his Function with a dry Colicness, which could not raise the King's Thoughts.* Let us see that Learned Prelate's Account of King *Charles's* Death and Character.

“ He dy'd greater than he liv'd, and shew'd
 “ that which has been said of the whole Race of
 “ the *Stuarts*, that they bear Misfortune better
 “ than Prosperity. His Reign both in Peace and
 “ War was a continual Series of Errors, so that
 “ it does not appear that he had a true Judgment
 “ of Things. He was out of Measure let
 “ on following his Humour, but unreasonably com-
 “ plying to those whom he trusted, chiefly the
 “ Queen. He had too high a Notion of the
 “ Regal Power, and thought that every Opposi-
 “ tion to it was Rebellion. He minded little
 “ Things too much, and was more concern'd in
 “ the drawing of a Paper, than in fighting a Bat-
 “ tel. He was too much inclin'd to the middle
 “ Way between Protestant and Papist. He en-
 “ gag'd

“gag’d the Duke of *Roban* in the War of *Rochel*, and then forsook him. He was the Occasion of the Loss of the Liberty of the Spanish Netherlands, &c.

There’s a Room in the *Tower*, where the Gallant Lord *Capel* was confin’d, and where he took leave of his Son, the unfortunate Earl of *Essex*, with a Charge that he shou’d adhere to the same Cause for which he was going to be beheaded. This he promis’d, says *Echard*, and afterwards put an End to his own Life in a narrow Closet of that Room, as if the Sight of it had thrown him into a Fit of unconquerable Despair. Bishop *Morley* he assures us made this reasonable Remark: And I repeat it to do Honour as far as I can to Bishop *Morley* and Archdeacon *Echard*.

I am extremely pleas’d with the Archdeacon’s Gallantry in the Character of Mrs. *Barlow*, because she was the Duke of *Monmouth*’s Mother, and had no Fault but Whoring, or in his own Words, *She had no other Crime but her yielding to the Charms of the young Prince*. Expressions that have nothing at all of the Director in them.

Our Historian and his Originals have not Words to form the Character of the mighty Marquis of *Montrose* in *Scotland*, whose History I shall abridge out of Mr. *Echard*’s.

His taking the Covenant made the Bishops afraid of him. He went with Mr. *Henderson* and Two Ministers more to *Aberdeen*, and promoted the Covenant there, disputing with Doctors. He led the Van of the Scots Army, alighted off his Horse and forded the *Tweed* afoot. He inform’d the King, that Duke *Hamilton* was false to him, and frankly offer’d to murder him and the Earl of *Argyle*. He went to the Queen in *Torkshire*, and begg’d her to get a Commission from the King for him; but she dismiss’d him. Being sounded
by

by the *Covenanters* about it, he *subtly* gave them Hopes that he wou'd side with them, and afterwards made remarkable Opposition to them, prevailing in so many Attempts, and performing so many *stupendous* Acts, that they are the Subject of a distinct History: He sent a fatal Letter to King *Charles*, boasting he would bring an Army into *England*, if the King wou'd break off the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. His clear Spirit was most like to advance the King's Service, and his Dependants assassinated the Parliament's Minister in *Holland*. He is routed, and flies the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Lands again, is again routed, taken, hang'd and quarter'd.

Here's the naked History stripp'd of all Ornaments, as Mr. *Echard* tells it himself; and when it is ornamented by him, the Marquis is made a mere *Almanzor*, if not a *Dracansir*. He argues on both Sides; but indeed cou'd dye but on one Side, and that Side must therefore have the best Claim to him. After all, Bishop *Burnet* says *his Successes were very mischievous*.

I cou'd make my self merry enough with the Turn he gives to the Choice of sober, religious Officers in the *Scots* Army, which was rais'd for King *Charles* the Second; but for a Man whose Vocation was of the Holy Ghost, to ridicule the most *Sacred Things*, wou'd have been astonishing, had I not known his Party and Principle. They put in Command Ministers Sons, Clerks, and other such sanctify'd Persons, who hardly ever saw any Sword but that of the Spirit.

Cromwel's running away in his Drawers near *Musellborough*, was a very pleasant Sight, and true or not true will bear telling.

One's Blood shudders when we read of Murder, especially when any Thing is said to justify it. Mr. *Ascham* whom the Parliament sent to *Madrid* as their Envoy, was a Gentleman of great Parts and Learning. He had been Tutor to the Duke of *York*, and was Author of several ingenious Treatises, particularly one entituled, *A Discourse, wherein is examin'd what is particularly lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government.* This Gentleman had not been long in *Spain* before he was assassinated by six Russians. *Henry Progers*, one of them, was then a Servant to *Sir Edward Hyde*, Minister there for King *Charles*. These Assassins not only murder'd the English Envoy, but his Interpreter also *John Bapt. Riva*. Mr. *Echard* treading on this slippery Ground as tenderly as possible, says, *Don Lewis de Haro*, Prime Minister of *Spain*, cry'd out, I envy those Gentlemen for having done so noble an Action, however penal it may prove to them, to revenge the Blood of their King upon a Spanish Friar who knew nothing of the Matter.

'Tis not to be believ'd that *Don Lewis* said a word of it; tho' if he had, it would not have justify'd the Historian's repeating it in Applause of Two such barbarous Murders. Neither does he tell the Fact as it happen'd.

A. Wood's Account.

" These Six Roy-
" lists repair'd to *As-*
" *cham's* Lodging. Two
" of them stood at the
" Bottom of the Stairs,
" Two at the Top, and
" Two enter'd his
" Cham-

Mr. Echard's Account.

" Next Morning
" some English Officers
" and Soldiers who had
" serv'd in the Spanish
" Armies, went to his
" Lodging, and with-
" out asking any Que-
" stions

A. Wood's Account.

Mr. Richard's Account.

" Chamber, of whom " stions walk'd up dis
 " Spark being first, " rectly into his Cham-
 " drew up to the Ta- " ber, drew their
 " ble where Ascham " Swords, and besides
 " and another were sit- " their Intentions, in
 " ting, and pulling off " Disorder kill'd a Fri-
 " his Hat, said, Gen- " ar, the Interpreter,
 " tlemen, I kiss your " as well as the Agent,
 " Hands; pray which is " and so return'd to
 " the Resident? Where- " their Companions
 " upon the Resident ri- " with naked and bloo-
 " sing up, Guillim took " dy Swords, and some
 " him by the Hair of " Expressions of Tri-
 " the Head, and with " umph, as if they had
 " a naked Dagger gave " perform'd a gallant
 " him a Thrust that o- " Action and justifiable
 " verthrew him. Then " Piece of Service.
 " came in Spark, and
 " gave him another.
 " And because they
 " wou'd make sure of
 " their Work, they
 " gave him Five Stabs,
 " of which he instantly
 " dy'd. Whereupon
 " John Bap. Riva his
 " Interpreter thinking
 " to retire to his Cham-
 " ber, Four others that
 " were without the
 " Chamber gave him
 " Four Wounds, of
 " which he dy'd on the
 " Spot.

If he did not think it a gallant and justifiable Action, why did he not enter his Protest against it? Why does he tell us it was not the Murderers Intention to kill the Interpreter, who was running away from them?

They did not know *John Bapt. Riva* would be the Man, but they intended to kill any body that was with him, or they might have let *Riva* pass. Why does he say they committed the Murder with Swords, when they stabb'd him with Daggers? I cannot dwell on so dreadful a Subject: I cou'd as well look upon the Murther, as write it as he has done, without trembling.

Is there the least Probability that an *English* Lawyer should plead thus, in a Case of Life: *The Court is not to take Notice of the Prisoner's Law Cases, but of his Confession; and though he has acted no Treason, yet he has an Affection for Treason, and therefore deserves Death.* He puts these words into the Mouth of the *Attorney-General Prideaux*.

The Story *Nalson* help'd him to, of a *Providential Vengeance*, is in p. 689, and relates to Love the *Presbyterian* Minister, who lost his Head for a Plot against the Parliament. I recommend every Thing pick'd out of *Nalson* to the Reader; for though he's too dull to be read by himself, yet when he's fet off by *Mr. Echard's* Improvements and Graces, he is another Sort of a Man, and one may away with him the better.

Enough has been said of the *Devil* and *Cromwel*, and of *Oliver's* selling his Soul to Satan for the Battel of *Worcester*. Tho' *Echard* has told this as gravely as any Thing, yet he owns *Cromwel's* Army was Three Times as numerous as *King Charles the Second's*, besides their being mostly *Veterans*, against raw and undisciplin'd Men;

'twas a sad Bargain therefore to damn himself for a Victory, when he had three to one of his Side. After this Battel he carries us along with King Charles and Mrs. Jane Lane into the West; but assures us, Mrs. Lane behav'd her self not only with the utmost Fidelity and Tenderness, but also with admirable Prudence and Discretion. In this Ramble there's one Thing very remarkable, especially to such as ever saw King Charles the Second or his Picture. For Mr. Echard informs you, that the Soldiers at Sir Hugh Windham's seiz'd upon a lovely young Lady for the King in Disguise. Though in his Description of him he says, His Countenance was rather grave than severe, his Complexion somewhat dark, and the Majesty of his Looks happily supply'd the Lines of Beauty.

The Reader cannot but be entertain'd with his Raillery upon going to Prayers, &c. p. 705. It is a little insipid indeed, and consists rather of Grimace than Wit. What there is either of Wit or Grimace, is imply'd in the Terms only, such as seeking God, Gift of Prayer, Presence of Christ, real Godliness, Christian Parity, and the like, with which he makes himself as merry as if they were fit Matter for a Farce.

What is said of the Dutch, p. 706, is too prophane, and had better be pass'd over; such as the Coming of Christ, Kiss of the Son, Holy ones; Terms so very far from being risible, that I question whether a Lay Author could have made use of them without at least an Air of Seriousness.

When one Wagstaffe and other Desperado's had seiz'd the Judges and High-Sheriff of Wilts at Salisbury, Wagstaffe was for hanging them up immediately; but Penraddock was against it, and for keeping them to make Terms. As if, says our Historian, Works of this Nature could be done by Halves.

Halves. In this Incident and that of Mr. *As-sham*, one has sufficient Insight into the Spirit of the Author.

Speaking of the Death of Mr. *Marshall* the Minister, whom he had before call'd a *Country Parson*; he now gives you his various Characters, and makes him at once an Independent, a Preacher, an Author, an Incendiary, a Trumpet, a Confessor, a Counsellor, a Chaplain, a Champion, a *Shimei*, a Madman and a Mortal: All in a Line or Two.

Oliver's carelling and promoting *Romish* Priests, for which we have his Word, is more a Piece of *Secret History*, than any the *foolish* Authors of such History have supply'd him with: Tho' not so much as what follows.

"*Cromwell* wore Armour underneath his Cloaths,
" besides offensive Weapons, as a *Sword*, a *Fal-*
" *chion*, several Pistols. He kept several *Keys*
" for the Doors of his Chambers, and rarely slept
" above Two Nights together in the same
" Room, nor in any that had not Two or Three
" Back-doors well guarded by his Servants. He
" never went abroad but with strong Guards,
" and with his Coach full throng'd with well-
" arm'd Servants: It was never known which way
" he was to go, till he was in his Coach.

The next Curiosity in his History is

An Address from the Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, &c. to King Charles the Second in Exile at Brussels.

The Commonwealth of England is like a poor Weather-beaten Pinace, which for a long Time has been toss'd upon the Billows of Faction, split upon the Rock of Violence, and almost devour'd in the Quicksands of Ambition.

If I had thought the Reader cou'd have believ'd such Stuff was ever sent after King *Charles* into *Flanders*, I would have repeated it all, for there's a great deal of it; and to do Mr. *Echard* Justice, he said he had it from the Lord *Clarendon*.

The filthy Account of *Cromwel's* Coffin is too shocking as well as improbable: But he trumps up again the Authority of Captain *Lindsey*, whom he made a Colonel for his good Service in detecting *Oliver's* Correspondence with the Devil. He informs us, *Cromwell* dy'd on the Third of *September*, as it was stipulated between himself and Satan, according to the Prediction of Colonel *Lindsey*.

I have heard it said of *Oliver's* Character in his History, that it is more false and vicious than even *Cromwel* himself. I have said already, and do say again, that I have an Abhorrence for that Usurper's Treachery, Tyranny, and other Vices, and do not think his great Qualities counterbalance them. But I wou'd scorn to conceal or misrepresent the Truth as he has done in the most wild, perplex'd, and malicious Manner. Bishop *Burnet* hated the Memory of *Cromwel* as much as it deserves Hate; yet in Justice to Truth he speaks of him thus: *He study'd to seek out able and honest Men, and to employ them; and his Gentleness had in a great measure quieted People's Minds with relation to him.* *Echard* says, *He rul'd by Councils of Rapine, Courts of Murder*, the very contrary to Gentleness and Honesty. The Bishop adds, *His maintaining the Honour of the Nation in all foreign Countries, gratify'd the Vanity which is very natural to Englishmen.* *He said, he hop'd he should make the Name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.*

When

When the *Historian* draws near the *Restoration*, he reassumes his Character of a *Panegyrist*, and begins with *Monk*.

He had upbraided *Oliver* with the Meanness of his Birth, though his Uncle *Sir Oliver Cromwell*, was Son of another *Sir Oliver*, a Gentleman of a very great Estate, who entertain'd King *James* and all his Court, when that King was in his Journey to *London*, to take Possession of the Crown. The Family originally *Welsh*, and of the Name of *Williams*, took that of *Cromwell* upon *Sir Richard William's* marrying a Daughter of the famous Earl of *Essex*, being before one of the most ancient in *Wales*, where 'tis no uncommon Thing to derive a Pedigree from *Brute*, as was done for *Oliver* by a *Welsh* Genealogist, tho' he only made a Jest of it.

From that Genealogist I come to another, Our *Historian*, who derives *Monk's* Pedigree from the Royal House of *Plantagenet*, which Honour descended to Duke *Christopher*, *Monk's* Son by Mrs. *Clarges*, a Sempstress; unless the Evidence in the Case of *Bath* and *Montague* was true. Mrs. *Clarges* was Sister to Mr. *Thomas Clarges*, an Apothecary, to whom for the Reputation of the Cause, Mr. *Echard* has granted the Degree of *Doctor of Physick*.

After having severely rally'd General *Fleetwood* for saying his Prayers so often, and that without the Help of a Book, he assures us, the General being advis'd to shew more Courage, reply'd, *God had spit in his Face*, which as 'tis more than probable he never said, so one cannot repeat it but with Horror and Indignation. Of what Make must some Mens Consciences be, to ridicule the most holy and tremendous Ideas the Mind of Man is capable of, and have recourse to Fable, rather than not gratify their paltry Resentments? For if

Oliver had restor'd the *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of *Worship*, the *Honours*, *Power* and *Revenues* of the *Ecclesiasticks*, with what *Glory* wou'd he have shin'd in their *Histories*, considering the dazzling *Brightness* of one *Side* of his *Character*? The *Duke of York* having betroth'd himself to *Sir Edward Hyde's* *Daughter* abroad, the *Historian* vouches that *Chancellor Hyde* never heard a *Hint* of it till the *Thing* was done.

He also informs us, that the *Rabble* burnt *Rumps* to magnify *General Monk*, who was never more magnify'd by any *Thing* in his *Life*, except it was when *Sir Richard Willis* and *Colonel Doleman* wou'd have made a *King* of him. I say nothing but what the *Historian* said before, as descended from a *Bastard Son* of *Edward IV.* Indeed I must confess this *Title* was a much better one than that of *Merit* would have been, the *Restoration* only excepted. In the *Process* of which he met with so few *Difficulties*, had so many *Helps*, and such good *Luck*, that a less *Genius* cou'd not have miscarry'd. The *Anarchy* and *Confusion* since *Oliver's* *Death*, had made the *People* weary of new *Experiments*, and heartily willing to try once more the old *Constitution*, the best in the *World*, as on the present *Establishment*.

After having reversely rally'd General Monk for having his Prayers so often, and that without the Help of a Book, he assures us, the General being advis'd to shew more Courage, reply'd, God had put in his Face, which as it more than prov'd he never fail'd, so one cannot repeat it but with Horror and Indignation. Of what Make are Mens Consciences, to ridicule the most holy and tremendous Word the Mind of Man is capable of, and have recourse to Fables, rather than not gratify their party Reclamations? For if

CHAP. IV.

Of the Reign of King Charles II.

FOR Six or Eight Pages before Mr. *Echard* comes to the *Restoration*, and for a Hundred or Two afterwards, there is such an Effusion of Epithets, so much Transport and Acclamation, that we know not where we are. He whirls about in a continual Vortex, which must needs make a Man's Head giddy. 'Tis a hard Matter to keep one's Wits together, amidst so much Noise and Extasy: He's conscious himself, there's a Spice of Frenzy in it, and therefore owns that every Man's Head was seiz'd with some Degree of Rapture and Madness.

What Reason they had to run away from their Senses, will be seen in the History of this Reign, which I shall borrow from the *Short History of a Standing Army*; as I have done the Two former Reigns, and for a further Account refer the Reader to the Bishop of *Sarum's* Character of King *Charles the Second*, which is so full of Proof against almost every Word of *Echard's* Panegyrick, that I cannot help bearing a Part in the Confusion and Shame which must attend it.

“By this Means came in *Charles the Second*,
 “a Luxurious, Effeminate Prince, a deep Dissembler, and if not a *Papist* himself, yet a great Favourer of them; but the People had suffer'd so much from the Army, that they were overjoy'd at his Coming. The Parliament in the Honey Moon, past what Acts he pleas'd, gave a vast Revenue for Life, being Three Times as much as any of his Predecessors enjoy'd, and

A. D.
 1660.
 King
 Charles
 II.

State
 Tracts,
 Vol. I.
 p. 660.

" several Millions besides to be spent in his Plea-
 " sures. This made him conceive vaster Hopes
 " of *Arbitrary Power* than any that went before
 " him ; and in order to it, he *debauch'd* and en-
 " ervated the whole Kingdom. His Court was a
 " Scene of *Adultery, Drunkenness, and Irreligion*,
 " appearing more like *Stews*, or the *Feasts of Bac-*
 " *chus*, than the Family of a Chief Magistrate;
 " and in a little Time the Contagion spread
 " through the whole Nation ; so that it was out
 " of the Fashion not to be lewd, and scandalous
 " not to be a publick Enemy, which has been
 " the Occasion of all the Miseries that have since
 " happen'd.

No Matter for all this, Mr. *Echard* continues
 in so strange a Fit of *Extasy*, that he can scarce
 contain himself ; and the Reason is very plain
 from his own Words ; *At the same Time the King*
took no less Care of the Benefit and Revenues of the
Church, and, what seem'd a little superfluous,
wrote Letters to all Bishops, Deans, and Chapters,
not to part with their Revenues, &c. So that the
Establish'd Church easily recover'd its former Autho-
rity, and began to shine with its usual Splendor. A
 Christian Church, a Primitive Church, a Pure
 Church, a Poor Church, a Suffering Church, and
 a Church Triumphant I have heard of ; but a *Shi-*
ning Church, a Splendid Church, a Powerful
Church, a Pompous Church, a Magnificent Church,
 owe their Existence to the Love of Epichets and
 Show.

By what Bishop *Barnet* writes when he speaks
 of King *Charles's* Extatick Reception, and what
 Mr. *Echard*, the Reader will distinguish between
 Candor and Insincerity in writing. For *Echard*
 speaks not a Word of the dreadful Consequences
 of this Rapture and Joy. *With the Restoration of*
the King, says the Bishop, a Spirit of extrava-

gant

gant Joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very Profession of Virtue and Piety. All ended in Entertainments and Drunkenness, which overrun the Three Kingdoms to a Degree that very much corrupted all their Morals.

To proceed with the History of this Reign, as I find it in the *Short History* before-mention'd.

“ King Charles the Second was no sooner warm
“ on his Seat, but he rejected an advantageous
“ Treaty of Commerce, which Oliver made with
“ France, as done by an Usurper; suffer'd the
“ French to lay Impositions upon all our Goods,
“ which amounted to a Prohibition, insomuch
“ that they got a Million a Year from us in the
“ Over-balance of Trade; He sold the important
“ Fortrefs of *Dunkirk*; let the French seize St.
“ *Christophers*, and the other Places in *America*.

Mr. *Echard* at this very Time extols his Majesty's Counsels for being regular and steady, and carry'd on with Wisdom and Forecast. “ He began, continues my *Short History*, a foolish and
“ unjust War with the Dutch, and though the
“ Parliament gave him vast Sums to maintain it,
“ yet he spent so much upon his Vices, that they
“ got great Advantages of us, and burnt our
“ Fleet at *Chatham*; At last he made as dishonourable a Peace with them as he had done a War;
“ a perpetual Reproach to our Country, that
“ our Reputation at Sea should be sunk to so low
“ an Ebb, as to be baffled by that Nation, who
“ but a few Years before had sent a Blank Paper
“ to the Parliament, to prescribe to them what
“ Laws they pleas'd.

“ During this War the City of *London* was fir'd,
“ not without violent Suspicion, that the Fire-
“ balls were prepar'd at *Whitehall*. Soon after

“ this he enter’d into the *Tripple-Alliance*, and
 “ receiv’d a great Sum from the Parliament to
 “ maintain it; which he made Use of to break
 “ the same League; sent Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden*
 “ to dissolve it, and enter’d into a strict *Alliance*
 “ with *France*, which was seal’d with his Sister’s
 “ Blood. In Conjunction with them, he made a
 “ new War upon *Holland* to extirpate *Liberty*,
 “ and the Protestant Religion: But knowing the
 “ Parliament was averse to the War, and would
 “ not support him in it, he attempted before any
 “ War declar’d, to seize their *Smyrna* Fleet. He
 “ shut up the *Exchequer*, and became so mean, as
 “ to be a Pensioner to *France*, from whence his
 “ Predecessors, with Swords in their Hands, had
 “ so often expected Tribute. He not only suf-
 “ fer’d, but assisted them to arrive at that Pitch
 “ of Greatness, which all *Europe* hath sufficiently
 “ felt and lamented. He sent over Ten Thou-
 “ sand Men to assist in subduing *Flanders* and
 “ *Germany*, by whose Help they did several con-
 “ siderable Actions. He sent them *Timber*, *Sea-*
 “ *men*, *Ship-Carpenters*, contrary to the Policy
 “ of Nations, which rais’d their Naval Force to
 “ a Degree almost equal to our own; and for their
 “ Exercise he suffer’d them to take Multitudes of
 “ *English* Ships by their *Privateers*, without so
 “ much as demanding Satisfaction.
 “ During this War he issu’d out a *Declaration*
 “ suspending the *Penal* Laws, which appears to
 “ be design’d in favour of *Papists*, by directing a
 “ Bill afterwards to be stoln away out of the
 “ House of Lords, for indulging *Protestant Dis-*
 “ *senters*, whom he persecuted violently most of
 “ his Reign, while he both countenanc’d and
 “ preferr’d *Papists*. He broke the Act of Set-
 “ tlement in *Ireland*, restor’d them to their E-
 “ states, issu’d forth a Proclamation, giving them
 “ Li-

“ Liberty to inhabit in Corporations, and mar-
“ ry’d the Duke of York not only to a *Papist*,
“ but one in the *French* Interest, notwithstand-
“ ing the repeated Addresses of the Parliament
“ to the contrary. No Man could be preferr’d
“ to any Employment in *Church or State*, ’till he
“ had declar’d himself an open Enemy to our
“ *Constitution*, by asserting *Despotick* Power, un-
“ der that *Nonsensical* Phrase of *Passive Obedience*,
“ which was more preach’d up than all the Laws
“ of God and Men. The Hellish *Popish* Plot was
“ stifled, prov’d since too true by fatal Experi-
“ ence; and in the room of it *Protestant* ones
“ were forg’d, and Men trepann’d into others, as
“ the *Meal-Tub*, *Fitzbarris*, *Ryehouse*, *New-*
“ *Market* and *Black-Heath* Plots; and by these
“ Pretences, and the Help of pack’d *Juries* and
“ *Judges*, they butcher’d some of the best Men
“ in *England*, set immoderate *Fines* upon others,
“ gaye probable Suspicion of cutting the Lord
“ *Essex*’s Throat; and to finish our Destruction,
“ they took away the Charters as fast as they were
“ able, of all the *Corporations* in *England*. To-
“ ward the latter End of this Reign, the Nati-
“ on had so entirely lost all Sense of *Liberty*, that
“ they grew fond of their Chains; and if his Bro-
“ ther would have suffer’d him to live longer, or
“ had follow’d his Example, by this Time we
“ had been as great *Slaves* as in *France*.

We shall see by the *History of the Times*, whe-
ther this Account of King *Charles* the Second is
too much exaggerated or not. Sure I am we can
know very little of that Prince or his History by
Mr. *Echard*’s. His *Musick* is made up all of *Flou-*
rishes, or rather his *Discs* are all *Garnish*. The
Standing one, amidst so much Vice and Pro-
phaneness, is the *Authorities* and *Glitterings* of
the *Church*, and the *Eulogies* he bestows on those
who

who promote them, whether the King or his Ministers.

'Tis surprizing to see with what Delight the *Historian* wades through a Sea of Blood flowing from the Executions in the Beginning of this Reign. He opens the Scene with darting the Bolts of Divine Vengeance at those that suffer'd, and flashing the fiery Judgments of Heaven in their Faces.

That they deserv'd Death for the Murder of the King, no body doubts; but since some of them acted by misguided Consciences, and some by weak Understandings, *Christianity* justifies a moderate Compassion for them in their Sufferings. Instead of which, he treats them with perpetual Insults, even when the Hangman was mangling their Bodies, and their Blood made a Deluge in our Streets. Bishop *Burnet* has the Sentiments of a Christian Minister on this Occasion. " Though
 " the *Regicides* were at that Time odious beyond
 " all Expression, and the Tryals and Executions
 " of the first that suffer'd, were run to by vast
 " Crowds, and all People were pleas'd with the
 " Sight; yet the Odiousness of the Crime grew at
 " last to be much flatten'd by the frequent *Exe-*
 " *cutions*; and most of those who suffer'd dying
 " with much Firmness and Shew of Piety, justi-
 " fying all they had done, not without a seeming
 " Joy for their suffering on that Account, the
 " King was advis'd not to proceed farther". This *Firmness*, this *Shew of Piety*, this seeming Joy, is with the *Historian* *Prodigious Behaviour*. There's something *prodigious* almost in every one of them. Sir *Henry Vane* and *Greatrakes* the *Stroaker*, are also *prodigious*, and *prodigious* and *uncommon* the good and bad Qualities of both Friends and Foes. This is what the *Puerile* Judges mistake for the *Florid* and *Sublime* in Style,
 and

and Men that judge well know to be the Puffy and Affected. It puts me in mind of a foolish Line, the first in the taking Tragedy of the Earl of *Essex*:

Help me to rail, prodigious-minded Burleigh.

I have much to say of the *Froth* and *Vanity* of his Sentiments and Expressions, but shall leave it for another Opportunity.

Chancellor *Hyde*, in his Speech to that Parliament, which their Speech-making Speaker Sir *Edward Turner*, very ingeniously call'd *Parliamentissimum Parliamentum*, tells them, The King had been so careful for the Restoration of the Languishing Church of England, that Constantine himself had hardly spent so much of his own Time in private and publick Conferences to that Purpose. Whereas in truth, the King was at that Time an errant Papist. He chang'd his Religion before he left Paris, says Bishop *Burnet*. The Earl of *Clarendon* had a great Talent for Speeches, and his are an Ornament to History for their Eloquence. But Sir *Edward Turner*, though infinitely fond of speaking, is so pedantick, so trifling, so full of Gingle, and other old Fashions, that his Harangues are by no means worthy Remembrance. However, they are a considerable Part of Mr. *Echard's* Work as long as they last, and increase the Bulk of it wonderfully. If any ill Accidents shou'd happen to prevent its Immortality, *Turner's* Speeches will certainly be one of them.

The mad Attempt of the Enthusiast *Venner* met with its Reward; but that does not satisfy our *Historian*. The Dissenters who disown'd and detested him in it, must by an *Innuendo* be engag'd with him; and therefore he informs us, the King order'd a Proclamation, prohibiting all seditious
and

and unlawful Meetings and Conventicles under Pretence of Religious Worship.

I don't know a Phrase which has been more serviceable to the Ministers of *Persecution* and *Despotick Power*, than that of *under Pretence*; an arbitrary Judgment, which with a Breath damns every Thing that is good, and turns Virtue into Vice. To pray to God, read a Chapter, sing a Psalm, and hear a Sermon, *under Pretence of Religious Worship*. To drink Water, and live on Roots and Herbs, *under Pretence of Temperance*. To fly Temptation and use Mortification, *under Pretence of Christianity*. To mind one's Business of all Kinds, *under Pretence of Industry*. To avoid Profusion, *under Pretence of Frugality*. This is their Way of arguing. They know very well what the Dissenters go to Meeting for; and because *Venner* and his Crew must have met together to carry on their bad Work, *every Assembly is seditious and unlawful*, to stir up Rebellion *under Pretence of worshipping God*. I am the longer upon this, for that he's extremely delighted with the Edict and the Expression. Take away the Authority and Splendor of the Church; the *Stinging Acts*, as he pleasantly calls them, against Dissenters; the King's, the Chancellor's and Speaker's Speeches, his Proclamations, his Lifts of Knights of the Garter, *Bath* Knights and others; his Audiences, Preferments, Entertainments, Diversions, Trials and Executions, and till the *Dutch War*, you have only the *Skeleton* of a History. When he comes to the Murder of *Sir Henry Vane*, he treats the Memory of that noble Person, as if he had been superior to him in Quality, Fortune, Genius and Merit. I call his Death a Murder, though he had the Form of a Tryal, because King *Charles* broke his Word, and rejected the Petition of the Two Houses of Parliament in Behalf of

Sir

Sir Henry, by putting him to Death. *His Declaration from Breda, in the Words of the Bishop of Salisbury, being full for an Indemnity to all, except the Regicides, Sir Henry Vane was comprehended in it. Since though he was for changing the Government, and deposing the King, yet he did not approve of the taking off his Head, nor of the Force put on the Parliament; but did for some Time, while these Things were acted, withdraw from the Scene. This was so represented by his Friends, that an Address was made by both Houses on his Behalf, to which the King gave a favourable Answer, &c.* What a History is here for a Christian Reader! What a cruel Libel has our Historian publish'd on this honourable Knight, Father to the Lord Bernard! "He was a Criminal, whose Blood seem'd to be demanded by the peculiar Vengeance of Heaven; though this prodigious Man cunningly kept himself from the impious Court that condemn'd the King, it is sufficiently known that none contributed more to the bringing him thither". This is so notoriously false, as well as base and malicious, that the Author deserves no Ceremony. The Bishop says, and it was sufficiently known, that he was against the Force put upon the Parliament. If there had been no Force put on the Parliament, that impious Court cou'd never have been erected; therefore every one that bore a Part in the Violence which outed near a Hundred Members of their Seats in the House, contributed more than Sir Henry Vane to the Death of the King. He goes on wantonly profuse of vain Words and wretched Raillery at his Tryal and Execution, filling up his Character with *Pride, Delusion, and Enthusiasm*; whereas he was one of the most exalted Genius's of his Time. And my Lord of Sarum assures us, *The great Opinion that Men*

Men had of his Parts and Capacity, made the Court think it was necessary to put him out of the way. Which I interpret to have him murder'd. For my Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, &c. were put out of the way with the same Form, and the Legislature has since given it the Term of Murder. Echard tells you the Parliament address'd to have him try'd, and they afterwards address'd to have him pardon'd. If that's likely let the Reader judge, and for himself only.

We all know, that the *Religious* of those Times us'd a Set of *pathetick* Terms, which rose from a Spirit unknown to the *Religious* of the Historian's Principles. It is now call'd *Cant*, and perhaps there was too much Affectation in it: But Men of Sense always spoke like Men of Sense; and it was to prevent the People's hearing Sir Henry Vane, that the Soldiers made a hideous Noise at the Time of his Execution. We find our Author too among the *Drummers*, who were to drum when Sir Henry spoke, and he does not seem at all to be shock'd at it. The Sheriff and the rest were forc'd to drown his *Lectures of Treason and Enthusiasm, Anglice, Religion and Liberty, with the Noise of Drums and Trumpets*. See Bishop Burnet's Relation. "When he saw his Death was design'd, he compos'd himself to it with a Resolution that surpriz'd all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some Instances of this were very extraordinary. He was beheaded on *Towerhill*, where a new and very indecent Practice was begun. *Not a Word of this Indecency in the Archdeacon*. It was observ'd, that the dying Speeches of the *Regicides* had left Impressions on the Hearers that were not at all to the Advantage of the Government. To prevent the like, *Drummers* were plac'd under the Scaffold, who as soon as he

“ he began to speak of the Publick; upon a Sign
 “ struck up with their *Drums*. This put him in
 “ no Disorder. He desir’d *they might be stopp’d*,
 “ *for he understood what was meant by it*. Then
 “ he went through his Devotion; and as he was
 “ taking Leave of those about him, he happen’d
 “ to say somewhat with relation to the Times,
 “ the *Drums* struck up a Second Time; so he
 “ gave over, and dy’d with *so much Composedness*,
 “ that it was generally thought the Government
 “ had lost more than it had gain’d by his Death”.

To the contrary of this, *Echard* tells you, *He with Rage and Indignation tore his Papers in pieces, and submitted to the Block in a very discomposed manner*. The Bishop’s Account is, with more than ordinary *Composedness*, Mr. *Echard*’s, very *discomposed*. Though I have had a greater Guard on my Pen than was necessary, and have seldom spoke plain in respect to the Historian’s Function; yet I have often been oblig’d to charge him with historical Falshood, as I do here again on this melancholy and moving Occasion, declaring I wou’d not be guilty of the like, for the highest Dignity he can possibly attain to.

I shall take no notice of his *Sabbey* Conference between the *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* Clergy. I never doubted but that *Colloquy*, like all the rest, was intended only to give the one an Opportunity to insult the other, as *Stearne* Archbishop of *Tork* insulted *Baxter*. Of which, says Bishop *Burnet*, great Complaints were made as an indecent Return for the Zeal the *Presbyterians* had shewn in the Restoration. For the Reader must understand, that it was the *Presbyterians* only who brought in King *Charles* the Second. That the *Episcopalians* acted an under Part, and cou’d never have restor’d him by themselves.

The Act of *Uniformity* with which Mr. Echar'd is so transported, did not pass the House of Commons so easily as he represents it. The Bishop informs us, *Many Members did apprehend so severe an Act might have ill Effects, and began to abate of their first Heat.* Upon which, Reports were spread and much aggravated, as they were reported to the House of Commons, of the Plots of the Presbyterians in several Counties. Two Ministers in *Worcestershire*, Mr. Sperry and Mr. Osland, with one Captain Tarrington, were thrown into Goal by Sir John Packington, who, says my Author, stood up and told the House there was a dangerous Presbyterian Plot discover'd in his County. But another Discovery was soon made, that Packington's Plot was a Sham, and so notorious a one, that the Earl of Bristol, a Papist, was asham'd of it, and very instrumental in saving Captain Tarrington and the Two Ministers from a Tryal, and consequently from the Gallows: The Mercy and Justice of this Administration being exactly of a piece. About the same Time a Letter was sent to the Town-Clerk of Oxford, with a List of Names of Men concern'd in a Plot, among whom was one Combes a Barber, who was to head a Party of Scholars. 'Twas intended to have search'd the Town-Clerk, and to have found this Letter about him; but he immediately carry'd it to the Mayor, and put an end to that Plot also. However, as if there had been something at Bottom, the Militia was rais'd, and kept Guard in Oxford for Two Days. Dr. Calamy writes thus of it. *In this very Session the Bill of Uniformity pass'd, and the general Cry occasion'd by these Sham Plots, much promoted it.* Which will easily be judg'd by any one who will be at the Pains to peruse Tarrington's Narrative.

Christian Charity obliges us to believe the Archdeacon had not seen any of these Memoirs, and consequently that he was but ill qualify'd to set up for an Historian. For what must one think of him if he had, and yet takes no Notice of them? If he knew how his belov'd Act came to be pass'd, and that these and other sham *Presbyterian* Plots, were owing only to *Priestcraft*. He does not miss one of these *Plots*, if he can help it, from the *Restoration* to the *Revolution*. Of the first, however, when *Overton*, *Desborough*, &c. were imprison'd, he owns *he can give no certain and perfect Account*, but *it was to seize the King and the Tower, and to kill no body but the Queen-Mother*.

Neither can he *fully make out* the next Plot, but has procur'd the Names of some of the *Plotters*, as Major *Wildman*, Alderman *Ireton*, *Praise-god Barebone*, whose Name alone was enough at that Time to hang him; and nevertheless he positively affirms that the People generally believ'd them to be true, and for his Affirmation has not the least Authority, if by People he means any body else but the Fools and Women of the Party he pleads for. I own the Chancellor gave a Hint of Designs, Disorders, and the like: But let any Man of common Sense and common Honesty judge, whether the Chancellor thought a Word of it true, or that the late King's Judges lurking in *France*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, were in a Condition to raise a *new War*, as the same Chancellor hints in another Speech. But though the *Historian* has not had the Courage as yet to stand by these Plots, when he has Opportunity he will confirm them in a Lump, as in the next Conspiracy; for as if the former had been real ones, and *old Plots*, he calls this the *new Plot* to subvert the Government, to rout King, Lords and Com-

mons, Treasury, Fleet and Army: And the Heads of it were,

George Philips, Serjeant in a Company of Foot.

Thomas Tongue, a Brandy-Man.

Francis Stubbs, a Cheesemonger.

James Hind, a Gunner.

John Sellers, a Compass-maker.

Nathanael Gibbs, a Felt-maker.

Under a Council of Six nameless Scoundrels.

One might have been merry with this Plot, had not the Cruelty of the Times turn'd it into a Tragedy. For *Philips*, *Tongue*, *Gibbs*, and *Stubbs*, were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; but being Persons of so much Consideration, Mr. *Echard* says the King was graciously pleas'd to give their Bodies to their Friends, after the Hangman had cut them to Pieces. Which Acts of Grace were not however very common in this Reign.

In short, the Act of *Uniformity* pass'd; and being, to use his own Words, as soon as it was pass'd, the *Law of the Land*, he cannot imagine why King *Charles* should encourage the Dissenters to contend with them by granting an Indulgence, unless it was to promote *Papists*, by indulging them too at the same Time; wherein he is certainly right, and it needed no conjuring.

The next Year 1663, dy'd Archbishop *Juxon*, a most admirable and venerable Man, who in Reward of his Wisdom, Honesty, and all other Excellencies, was advanc'd, as Mr. *Echard* writes; and as Bishop *Burnet*: "*Juxon*, who had assisted the late King in his last Hours, was promoted to *Canterbury* more out of Decency, than that he was then capable to fill that Post; for as he was never a Great Divine, so he was now superannuated.

The

The Historian introduces the *Dutch* War with a terrible Charge against their Admiral *De Ruyter*, who *ingloriously* began a *Piratick War* under the sacred Bands of Friendship. As his whole Account of the Beginning of that War is misrepresented, so it will not bear Animadversion. Read it backwards, and there will be some Truth in it. The Bishop of *Salisbury* has made this fair Representation of it. "The Design of a War with *Holland* was now working. I have been very positively assur'd by Statesmen on both Sides, that the *French* set it on in a very artificial manner. For while they encourag'd us to insist on some *extravagant* Demands, they at the same Time press'd the *Dutch* not to yield to them: And as they put them in Hopes, that if a Rupture should follow, they would assist them according to their Alliance; so they assur'd us they would do us no Hurt. There was no visible Cause of War. Read again what *Echard* says above of *De Ruyter*. "A Complaint of a Ship or two taken was ready to be satisfy'd: But the House of Commons was so far from examining nicely into the Ground of the War, that without any Difficulty they gave the King Two Millions and a half.

Speaking of the Attempt at *Berghen* in *Norway*, his Lordship says, "This was a Design well laid, that would have been as fatal to the *Dutch* as ignominious to the King of *Denmark*, and was by the impatient *Ravenousness* of the *English* lost, without Possibility of recovering; and indeed there was not one good Step made after this in the Progress of the War.

Things will appear true or false by the manner of telling them. When Plainness and Simplicity are an Author's Guide, every body is ready to believe him; but when he involves his Facts in a

Cloud of Epithets, the Reader fears 'tis to obscure the Truth; and when he glares it with Eulogy and Applause, that it is only to dazzle and mislead him.

Mr. *Echard* acknowledges this shameful Disappointment: But then to give a glorious Turn to a groundless inglorious War, he tells you the *English* took a prodigious Number of Prizes, Four *Dutch* Men of War, 1000 Prisoners; that Sir *Jeremy Smith* scour'd the *Streights*, and General *Wrangle* travell'd Thirty Miles to see Sir *Christopher Mims*, who had scour'd the Coasts. He then crowns the Campaign thus: *Daring the Height of these Triumphs, God was pleas'd to punish the Sins of the Nation, such as Perjury, Lewdness, Persecution, and an unnecessary War, with the publick Calamity of the Plague.*

Observe how he is pleas'd with the Five Mile Act past at *Oxford*, to oppress the Nonconformists still further in the Height of a Pestilence and War. *All that were secret Favourers of Popery, says the Bishop of Salisbury, promoted this Bill. Dr. Earl, then Bishop of Sarum, declared himself much against it, before the mischievous Effects of it were known. But Archdeacon Echard many Years after the Legislature was asham'd of it, and repeal'd the Statute, calls it an Act for Self-Preservation.*

When he comes to the Fire of *London*, he begins with another *New Plot* of some more extraordinary Persons to destroy the King and set up themselves, after they had fir'd the City: The chief of them were;

John Rathbone.

Thomas Evans.

William Sanders.

John Myles.

Henry Tucker.

William Westcot.

Thomas Flint.

John Cole.

Soldiers in the Parliament Army.

The

The Third of September is brought into the Evidence to be the Day for their seizing the Government, because on that Day *Oliver* beat the King at *Worcester*; but then it was on that Day *Oliver* dy'd too, which weighs more against it, than for it. A better Reason is given for it by Mr. *Echard*; that 'twas found in *Lilly's Almanack* to be a *Lucky Day*. But the best Reason of all is, that he might turn the Suspicion of burning the City off from the *Papists*, and leave it upon the *Presbyterians*; for then, as it has been ever since his *stinging Acts*, the *Dissenters* of all Denominations were call'd *Presbyterians*, on purpose to load them with whatever Crimes any of the others might commit. Bishop *Burnet's* short Reflection on the Fire, is, *That which is still a great Secret, is, whether it was casual, or rais'd on a Design*. To this he adds a very strong Presumption from very great Authorities, that it was the wicked Work of the *Papists*. And the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, in his Speech at passing Sentence against the Popish Lord *Stafford*, said, *Who can doubt any longer that London was burnt by Papists?*

In the Ten Letters before-mention'd, Mr. *Echard* is charg'd with the most barefac'd Falshood with respect to the Fire of London. Could he, without a Blush, omit saying a word of the Enquiry made by the House of Commons concerning the Burning the City; or, with a bare Face, give the House of Commons the Lye? That ingenious Author, who was living when the Fire happen'd, gives so many Evidences of the Fact, that one cannot doubt but our Historian sunk them, for fear they should be believ'd, and reflect on the Duke of *Tork* and his *Papists*. See the Second Letter; in which is this just Observation of the History-Writer. "If falsifying of Records in private Cases be so penal, as by our Law it is; how much greater

"ought the Punishment of any Man to be, much
 "more of a *Divine*, who falsifies History, with
 "an Intent to misinform and mislead a whole
 "Nation in all future Ages, and perhaps to their
 "Ruin at one Time or other, if the Author
 "gains Credit enough to be heard. And tho' I
 "think there is no Danger from this Author, or
 "his Predecessor Sir Roger L' *Estrange*; yet such
 "a Brand of Infamy ought to be laid on them,
 "as may deter others of greater Reputati-
 "on, &c.

Read *Echard's* Preface to his Last Volume; and
 mind how he walks upon Stilts! how he swells
 with the Conceit of his own Merit! and how dif-
 ferent his Sentiments of Himself are from those
 of the Writer of the Ten Letters! If our Histo-
 rian was not capable of forming a right Judgment
 of Facts, as by the whole Tenor of his History 'tis
 plain he was not; it was however his Duty to set
 forth the Matters truly as they appear'd, and to
 have left it to wiser Heads to judge of them.

Next to the Story of the Devil and Cromwell,
 which being the *Noupareille* of History, we can't
 too often repeat; one of the most credible and
 diverting in Mr. *Echard's*, is that of Mr. *Valen-*
tine Greatarakes, upon which he dwells. This
 Man was an *Irish Justice of Peace*, a pious Reli-
 gious Man, and no Fanatick, but he said it was re-
 veal'd to him, that he could cure the King's *E-*
vil; I believe he could cure it as much as *Ed-*
ward the Confessor. Not satisfy'd with this Reve-
 lation, he had a Second and a Third, the latter
 of which added the Cure of *Agues*, *Headachs*,
Wounds and *Ulcers*, to the King's *Evil*. Nor did
 this Gift stop here; *Convulsions*, *Dropsies*, and se-
 veral other Distempers follow'd upon it, all which
 he cur'd by *Stroaking*; 'tis so in our Author. King
Charles, who stroak'd also for the King's *Evil*, or-
 der'd

der'd him, to be brought to *Whitehall*, and from thence he daily repair'd to *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, to cure the Multitudes that flock'd thither to have their Wounds heal'd, and their Heads broken. But failing at last, and sneaking off all on a sudden, *diminish'd the Wonder*, says the Historian, as gravely as he says any Thing. However, the King having given him Countenance, he adds his own Certificate to it, that several of the Facts were *manifest and unquestionable*. And so would it be, if himself would set up and Stroak, as the *Irishman* did in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*. Strong Faith, and a Chance of One in a Hundred, may produce a Cure sufficient to make a *Wonder* among the Credulous. Of such Materials does a great Part of his *prodigious and uncommon* History consist; and certainly the Reader must needs be *captivated* with them.

This *Greatarakes* had been a Lieutenant in the Lord *Bragbil's* Regiment in the Parliament's Service; and when he first discover'd his *Gift of Healing* to his Wife, the Woman had more Sense, and wou'd have banter'd him out of it. He was cited to the Bishop's Court in *Ireland*, and forbidden to exercise his pretended Talent. When he came to *England*, he went to *Ragley* in *Warwickshire*, to *Stroak* my Lady *Leigh*; but she might as well have *stroak'd* her self for the good he did her. And after all his pretended Miracles, Mr. *David Lloyd*, Chaplain to the *Charter-house*, expos'd the *Cheat*, in a Pamphlet entitled, *Wonders no Miracles*. Why the Historian should take any notice of him, one can't imagine; unless it was to insinuate the Possibility of curing the *King's Evil* by *Stroaking*: And if such a Fellow as *Greatarakes* cou'd do it, sure much more an *Hereditary Monarch*, and a *Religious* one, as *King Charles* the Second was; for, by that Title
he

he was pray'd for, in Parliament Time, in all Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, Parish Churches, Chapels, Colleges, Halls, and the like.

In the Year 1673, *Ecbard*, speaking of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s being turn'd out, a few Lines after extols the King's Zeal for the Protestant Religion. All the World knows he had been a Papist many Years, which however he takes no Notice of, the King having himself lately broken the Great Seal affix'd to the Toleration to Dissenters.

When any of his persecuting Patriots are disgrac'd, he speaks Mannerly, as that they were remov'd, or retir'd from Court; but the Earl of *Shaftsbury* is TURN'D OUT. He's full of these courtly Distinctions.

I have more than once observ'd, how he dresses his Work up with Epithets, as a Carrier's Horse is with Bells, and with the same Intent, that it may jog on the more merrily: But I am come to one which is certainly very uncommon, and that is, the formidable Contract of Marriage between *Mademoiselle d'Este*, and the Duke of *Tork*. A Formidable Army, a Formidable Fleet, and a Formidable Alliance I have heard of; but as to Formidable Articles of Marriage, it is entirely new, and he must have the sole Glory of the Use of it.

What was it that made these Marriage Articles so formidable? *Mademoiselle*'s great Portion; or the great Power of the Duke of *Modena*? No, certainly; it must be the Friendship the French King had for her and her Husband, which could bode no Good to *England*: But this is too much Secret History for so scrupulous a Writer as *Mr. Ecbard*.

The Reader will all along, from the Beginning to the End of his History, find him in an extraordinary

ordinary good Humour, when any of his *Self-Preservation Acts* are going forward to *coerce* out Protestant Brethren to come to Church.

If he knows any thing of the State of Religion Abroad, he will wonder why such Severities should be practis'd against Christians in *England*, when the rest of *Christendom*, *Papists* and *Lutherans* excepted, profess the very same Doctrine and Discipline. What we have hinted in several Places, will give him some Light into the Contest. Persecutors cannot bear the least Opposition to their Dominion and Interest, which they would have us revere as the Church, though the Church of Christ is entirely Spiritual, and his Kingdom not of this World.

Several of the Reverend Fathers of our Church have told us as much; but *Laud*, *Fuxon*, *Sheldon*, &c. made that Kingdom to consist in Dignities, Possessions, Powers, Vestments, Ceremonies, &c. And the Historian writes as if he never had heard of any other Kingdom, or never desir'd to be one of it.

Bishop *Burnet* in his last History, gives us a wonderful Character of the Piety and Primitive Christianity of Archbishop *Leighton*, Son of Dr. *Leighton*, whom *Laud* procur'd to be so tortur'd and stigmatiz'd; and p. 289, writes as follows:

“ *Leighton* undertook the Administration of
 “ the See of *Glaster*, where he held a Synod of
 “ his Clergy, in which nothing was to be heard,
 “ but Complaints of Desertion and ill Usage.
 “ *Leighton*, in a Sermon that he preach'd to
 “ them, and in several Discourses both in Pub-
 “ lick and Private, exhorted them to look up
 “ more to God, to consider themselves as the
 “ Ministers of the Cross of Christ; to bear the
 “ Contempt and ill Usage they met with, as a
 “ Cross laid on them for the Exercise of their
 “ Faith

“ Faith and Patience ; to lay aside all the Appetites of Revenge, to humble themselves before God together, that they might quicken and assist one another in those holy Exercises, and then they might expect Blessings from Heaven upon their Labours. This was a new Strain to the Clergy. They had nothing to say against it, but it was a comfortless Doctrine to them, and they had not been accusom’d to it. His Lordship proceeds, No speedy ways were propos’d for forcing the People to come to Church, nor for sending Soldiers among them, or raising the Fines, to which they were liable ; so they went away as ill edify’d with their new Bishop, as he was with them.

The speedy ways they wanted, are Mr. *Echard’s* Self-Preservation Acts, Uniformity, Corporation, and Five-Mile Acts, &c. He and all his Admirers will assert, that every Thing is said here out of Enmity to the Church, and Affection to the Dissenters. But the Reader will not be led away by this false Light any longer. He knows the Opinion of the Archbishop *Glasgow*, and the Bishop of *Salisbury* ; he knows the Opinion of many other pious and learned Prelates of our Church, which is the very same we endeavour to inculcate, and which as Archbishop *Leighton* experienc’d, the Clergy will never allow to be Orthodox, it being corrupted with Moderation and Charity.

I have often explain’d my self as to the Word Clergy, that I do not intend the Reverend, Learned and Loyal Body of the Church of *England* Divines ; but those who in direct Opposition to the Light of the Gospel and Nature, would set up their arbitrary Wills, and temporal Interests, instead of Religion and Virtue. In a word, such as *Laud, Morley, Wren, Montague, Manwaring,*

Sib-

Sibthorp, in our Fathers Days; such as *Atterbury*, *Hicks*, *Higgins*, *Hill*, *Sacheverel*, *Trap*, the *Historian*, &c. in our own.

In the Time of the *Civil War*, *Mr. Echard* bestow'd his *Laurels* mostly on one Side, that of the King, and he continues the same Loyal Spirit in this Reign. For in the *Second Dutch War* he tells us the Duke of *York* got the Appearance of a *Victory*; but *Bishop Burnet* says otherwise. *De Ruyter* had the Glory of surprizing the English Fleet in *SOULD-BAY*, when they were thinking less of engaging the Enemy, than of an extravagant Preparation for the usual Disorders of the 29th of May, call'd also the Anniversary Thanksgiving for King *Charles's* Nativity and Restoration; on which Day the same Faction continue to commit the same Disorders, to keep up the same Spirit of Tyranny Ecclesiastical and Civil.

In the Year 1675, there was a famous Struggle in the House of Lords about a *Test Act*, contriv'd by the Earl of *Danby*, the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and some of the Bishops; which if it had pass'd, would have given up our Rights and Liberties to the Oppression and Cruelty of Favourites and Priests. Great was the Opposition it met with, and *Mr. Echard* found so many noble Names on the Negative Side, that he has not recommended this detestable *Act*, as he has done others of the like Tendency; but one might still perceive, he would not have voted as they did, if he had a Vote to give; for he reports the Matter wrong.

I would not have the Reader think I am the only Person who has charg'd him with Falshood and Misrepresentation. Besides *Dr. Calamy*, whose Remarks are Publick, the learned and ingenious *Monsieur des Maizeaux*, Editor of a Collection of *Mr. Locke's* Pieces, speaking of this infamous *Test*, and

and that great Author's Account of it, writes as follows, p. 135.

“ Mr. Echard in his History of England, Vol. II.
 “ ad An. 1675, p. 383, hath transcrib'd several Pa-
 “ ragraphs of Mr. Locke's Letter, tho' he never
 “ cites it, and ends his Relation of the Debate
 “ thus: *The Debate, says he, lasted Sixteen or*
 “ *Seventeen whole Days. The House often sitting*
 “ *till Nine at Night, and sometimes till Midnight;*
 “ *in the Conclusion of which the Duke of Bucking-*
 “ *ham, as General of the Party, and last in the*
 “ *Field, made a famous Speech, consisting of Elo-*
 “ *quent, Regular, and well-plac'd Nonsense, hoping*
 “ *that that might prevail, when nothing else would,*
 “ *and so brought Confusion into the House: where*
 “ *besides the Unaccuracy of bringing into his Nar-*
 “ *rative, and making his own the Expressions*
 “ *which the Author of the Letter had us'd by*
 “ *way of Compliment or Encomium, and there-*
 “ *by misrepresenting the Matter; He affirms, that*
 the Debate was put to an end by the Confusion
 which the Duke of Buckingham's Speech brought
 into the House, *which is false; for it appears by*
 the Letter it self, *that no Confusion was brought*
into the House by that Speech, but on the contra-
ry, that after a short Reply of the Earl of Win-
chelsea, the Question was put regularly to the
Vote, and carry'd as the Court and Bishops would
 have it.

Mr. Des Maizeaux here lays to his Charge
Falshood and Misrepresentation as to Fact, and Un-
accuracy as to Method, which is what I have
 been all this while contending for: What that
 Gentleman says of his *Unaccuracy in making the*
Expressions of others his own, is so common with
 him, that one might fill a Volume with Instances
 of it: Nay, that he has made Use of the Words
 of an Author, whose Reputation he has endea-
 vour'd

your'd to lessen. By this Means, there's such a strange Variety of *Stile* in his History: The Flatness of *Heylin*, *Nelson*, *Manley*, &c. making *Patchwork* with the Earl of *Clarendon's* Eloquence, and his own swelling Epithets. I will leave the *Popish Plot* as it is left by King, Lords, and Commons, and the solemn Declarations of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, that it was a *real and damnable Conspiracy*. Mr *Echard* will not encounter such Authority by way of Defiance, but has some insipid Jests on the Matter of the *Plot*, and some virulent Reflections on the Witnesses, warranted by a *French Jesuit*, *Pere Orleans*, who inform'd him, that King *Charles* dissembled a *Credulity*, which did a great deal of *Mischief*; and the best Warrant *Father Orleans* had, was the Information of King *James the Second*.

I refer the Reader to the before-cited *Ten Letters*, *Vide III. and IV.* for the full Evidence of the *Popish Plot*. It was perhaps a little too much Squeamishness in Bishop *Burnet*, which made him Sceptical in the Matter; but in *Echard's* flaming Zeal for the Cause which *L'Estrange* espous'd in his weekly Libels. When the Writer of the Letters speaks, *Lett. V.* of the Murther of Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, and of what the Archdeacon says to invalidate and weaken the Credit of the *Plot*; he adds, *I believe it will appear to all unbiass'd Persons, what Dependance is to be put upon the Historian's Judgment or Honesty.* He then gives several undoubted Proofs that Sir *Edmund* was murder'd, and that the *Popish Plot* was a real Conspiracy, answering *Echard's* malicious Reflections, and insolent, though insipid *Raillery* upon the Witnesses for the Crown.

As to the Earl of *Essex's* cutting his own Throat, the same Author proves the Improbability, if not the Impossibility of it, notwithstanding what
Echard

Echard says he was told by *Two Eminent Divines* That Author defies him to name his *Two Divines*, and offers to evince the contrary to what both they and he affirm'd. See the Thirteenth Letter in the Pamphlet entituled, *Remarks upon Archdeacon Echard's History of England, with Relation to the Fire of London, &c.* In Ten Letters to the Author of the *Critical History of England Ecclesiastical and Civil*, written by a Gentleman who liv'd in all those Times.

When the Tryals of the State Offenders were coming on, there arose a Debate about the Bishops Votes in Parliament in Capital Cases. The Earl of Northampton and the Lord Roberts argu'd for the Bishops: The Earls of Shaftsbury, Essex, and the Lord Hollis against them. Many Books were also written on both Sides of the Argument.

Let us see how differently the Bishop of Salisbury and Archdeacon Echard represent it.

About this Time, says Echard, there seem'd to be a more than ordinary Spleen against the Bishops, and three of them, Gunning Bishop of Ely, Frichard Bishop of Gloucester, and Mew Bishop of Bath and Wells, were accus'd for Papists; but the Accusation soon fell, it being discover'd to be a malicious Contrivance to blast the Reputation of so holy and frugal a Man as Mew was.

We shall see who it was that really blasted their Reputation, by Bishop Burnet's History, and it is a remarkable Passage. From this Event the persecuting Faction began to exert their utmost Rage against Protestant Dissenters, and an implacable Spirit flam'd out in all Parts of the Kingdom, especially under Mew of Bath and Wells, and Ward of Salisbury.

“Upon

“ Upon this Debate, *says my Lord of Sarum,*
 “ it was carry’d by the Majority that the *Bishops*
 “ had a Right to vote. Upon which the *Com-*
 “ *mons* said they would not proceed, unless the
 “ *Bishops* were oblig’d to withdraw during the
 “ whole Tryal. *Earl of Danby’s.* And upon
 “ that Breach between the Two Houses, the
 “ Parliament was prorogu’d; and soon after it
 “ was dissolv’d: And the Blame of this was cast
 “ chiefly upon the *Bishops.* The Truth was, they
 “ desir’d to have withdrawn, but the King would
 “ not suffer it. He was so set on maintaining
 “ the *Earl of Danby’s* Pardon, that he would not
 “ venture such a Point on the Vote of the *Tem-*
 “ *poral* Lords. And he told the *Bishops,* they
 “ must stick to him and to his Prerogative,
 “ as they would expect that he should stick
 “ to them, if they came to be push’d at. By
 “ this means they were expos’d to the popular
 “ Fury, as a Set of Men that for their own
 “ Ends, and for every Punctilio that they pre-
 “ tended to, would expose the Nation and the
 “ Protestant Religion to Ruin.

Then speaking of the angry Writings for and
 against them, his Lordship adds: “ The chief
 “ Manager of the *Writings* for the *Bishops* and
 “ *Clergy,* was one *Roger L’Estrange,* a Man who
 “ had liv’d in all the late Times, and was fur-
 “ nish’d with many Passages, and unexhausted
 “ Copiousness in writing; so that for Four Years
 “ he publish’d Three or Four *Sheets* a Week un-
 “ der the Title of the *Observator*; all tending to
 “ defame the contrary Party, *sober Churchmen* and
 “ *Dissenters,* and to make the *Clergy* apprehend
 “ their Ruin was design’d. *This was the Game*
 “ *Lesley play’d in his Rehearsal.* This had all
 “ the Success he could have wish’d for, as it drew
 “ considerable Sums that were rais’d to acknow-
 “ ledge

“ acknowledge the Service he did. Upon this
 “ the greater Part of the *Clergy*, who were already
 “ much prejudic’d against that Party, being now
 “ both sharpen’d and furnish’d by these Papers,
 “ deliver’d themselves up to much *Heat* and *In-*
 “ *discretion*, which was much vented both in
 “ their *Pulpits* and common *Conversation*, and
 “ most particularly at the Elections of *Parlia-*
 “ *ment* Men; and this drew much *Hatred* and
 “ *Censure* upon them. They seem’d now to lay
 “ down all Fears and Apprehensions of *Popery*,
 “ and nothing was so common in their Mouths
 “ as the Year 1641. Both City and Country were
 “ full of many Indecencies.

Exactly our own Times. Such Declaimers as
 L’*Estrange*, such Preachers as learnt of him, have
 appear’d against our Constitution, such Topicks
 have they argu’d upon with the same furious and
 destructive Zeal. But as then, we have met with
 other Clergymen Champions for our Religious
 and Civil Liberties, and Lessons to all that know
 them for Piety and Wisdom. The Bishop goes
 on.

“ But as there were too many of the *Clergy*,
 “ whom the *Heat* of their Tempers and the
 “ Hope of Preferment drove to such Extrava-
 “ gancies; so there were still many Worthy and
 “ Eminent Men among them, whose Lives and
 “ Labours did in a great Measure rescue the
 “ Church from those Reproaches that the Follies
 “ of others drew upon it. Such were, besides
 “ those whom I have often nam’d, *Tennison*,
 “ *Sharp*, *Patrick*, *Sherlock*, *Powder*, *Scot*, *Cal-*
 “ *my*, *Clager*, *Cudworth*, *Two Mores*, *Williams*,
 “ and many others.

The Murder of the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*
 is so horrid an Act, that one trembles to think of
 it, and no Punishment could be too severe for the

Mur-

Murderers. But Mr. Echard's Way of introducing it turns off our Resentments from them to himself. *This horrid Fact was committed the Third of May, some Time after the Reception of the Earl of Shaftsbury's Speech in Scotland.* Sweetly insinuating, that my Lord Shaftsbury instigated them to that barbarous Murder in *Scotland*, by what he spoke in the House of Lords in *England*.

The *Conventiclers* who got together at *Glasgow* were, according to Bishop Burnet, *bunted from their Houses by Persecution*, of which our *Historian* takes not the least Notice.

When he gives us a Relation of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Victory over them, he assures us, they were 17000 strong, that 800 were kill'd on the Spot, and 1200 taken. But Bishop Burnet on the contrary says they were only 4000, and that only between 2 and 300 were kill'd. I shou'd not have mention'd such a Falsity in Fact as this, if it had not been to warn the Reader against relying upon his Numbers on both Sides in the *History of the Civil Wars*. As it makes for the Glory of the *Cavaliers* to have more or less in Number, so will his *Masters* appear to be, when compar'd with *Rushworth* and *Whitlock*. He has increas'd that of the *Conventiclers*, to intimate there was a *prodigious* Multitude of them got together against the Church, which help'd a little to justify the Cruelties exercis'd against their *Namesakes* in *England*.

Not long after he drops his Hero; *Monmouth* is out, *Shaftsbury* again TURN'D OUT at the Solicitation of the Duke of *Tork*. Such is his best Language for those that were not of the persecuting Faction. I am sensible this is no very important Observation; it is only intended to shew the Disposition of the Man, and is not so mean in me to observe it, as in him to be guilty of it.

'Tis plain *Monmouth* in this Paragraph: The very next is made up of *His Royal Highness*, and *Her Royal Highness*, and *their Royal Highnesses*, almost in every Line. Infomuch that the Page is all Flourish, or rather his Coat is all Lace, which tho' a little of it is decent, turns it into taudry, and the more, for that his Elocution in the Case of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* is so very slovenly. The Bishop of *Salisbury* makes use of the same plain Terms, with respect to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, but then it was to shew the Malignity of the King's Favourites, that procur'd his Disgrace for exciting the Privy Council to represent to his Majesty the Danger he was in by his Royal Highness's being so near him.

When he tells us the Lord *Russel*, the Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel* and Mr. *Powle* quitted their Seats at the Council Board, he has his old Word under Pretence of despairing to be able to serve the King. He says the King, upon their Request so to do, answer'd with his usual *Frankness*, *With all my Heart*. Intimating he was glad they were gone. Whereas in Truth that usual *Frankness* was usual *Diffimulation*. For King *Charles* knew better than our *Historian*, what a Weight they took away from him; and my Lord of *Sarum* tells us, *He was so highly offended, that he became more sullen and untractable*.

Dangersfield's Plot was one of the most damnable which the Malice of *Hell* ever invented. The Lord *Castlemain*, Lord and Lady *Powis*, Lord *Arundel*, and other Popish Lords and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were deep in it. The *Historian* can't disguise it, and therefore take it in his own Words. *By the Lords Orders he was to go to the principal Coffee-houses, and disperse Pamphlets. He had deliver'd to him Forty Lists*

Lists of Names, containing above 800 of the chief Protestant Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Citizens of England. These were privately to be put by their Agents throughout England in the Houses of Non-conformists and other Protestants; and then Search being made on other Pretences, when these dangerous Papers were found, the Persons mention'd would be seiz'd for Treason. Here was a Design to let out the best Blood in the Nation. And who was it that gave it Encouragement? Bishop Burnet informs us, He was carry'd first to the Duke, and then to the King, and had weekly Allowance of Money, and was very kindly used.

Tho' this Presbyterian Plot did not succeed in Dangerfield's Hands, it succeeded in Rumsey's and West's, where we shall find Mr. Echard has quite forgotten Mr. Dangerfield.

The Farce that was acted at Court upon the Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament, is exactly copied out of the *Gazettes*. When he speaks of Dangerfield's being a Witness against some of the Court Creatures, he adds, His Actions had been such as could not make him a creditable one. This is so common a Reflection, that 'tis hardly worth Remark. Can one expect Evidence of monstrous Villany, but from a Villain! However, his Actions were long before he became a Witness, and he had been purify'd by his Conversation with the Two Royal Brothers. The Truth is, his being a Witness is his greatest Crime with these Men: For while he was only a Coiner, a Pick-pocket, a Pimp, a Scoundrel, he lay in their Bosoms.

How politick is that Observation of his, That the presenting a Bill of Indictment against the Duke of York as a Papist, by several Lords and Gentlemen, was breaking all Measures with his Royal Highness. As if their pushing the Bill of

Exclusion to hinder his Succession to the Crown, was not much more *breaking all Measures*, or as if those Lords and Gentlemen desir'd to keep any with him, who kept none with our Religion and Liberties.

After the Dissolution of the *Oxford Parliament*, every one knows King Charles the Second set up a *Despotick Power*; That Plots were form'd to murder the principal Promoters of the *Exclusion Bill* and their Abettors; That the Kingdom was over-run with Informers, Prosecutions, Imprisonments, Fines, Misery and Ruin, on account of Conscience. Let us see how the *Historian* disguises these Truths, and in what other Language he tells them. *This Dissolution shew'd an universal Courage in the King, and gave a remarkable Turn in the Fate of the Nation. It open'd the Passage to a more independent Administration, and a less Mixture of Government; so that his Majesty had both a Pretence and an Opportunity for the Remainder of his Reign, to act more like an absolute Monarch.* Can any Thing give a King of England a Pretence to act against the Laws? No Matter, his Authority was exercis'd in the Destruction of the *Dissenters*, and therefore his *absolute Government* is not only approv'd of, but applauded.

When the King's Declaration was publish'd to justify his sudden dissolving the Parliament, Bishop Burnet informs us an Answer was written to it "with great Spirit and Judgment. It was at first penn'd by Sidney, but a new Draught was made by Somers". Echard not knowing that the Piece came from such illustrious Hands, is arch upon it, and says, *the Author was soon lash'd by the satyrical Pen of John Dryden, who undertook to expose the Exorbitancies of him and his Friends. That is, who was so impudent as to libel*

Colonel Sidney and the Lord Somers, and to expose them in a Matter of Argument and Law. Dryden's *Abraham* and *Achitophel*, his *Medal*, and other satyrical Pieces on the same Side with our *Historian*, gives him a Place in his Panegyricks. Though Bishop Burnet says of him, *The Stage was defil'd beyond all Example, Dryden being a Monster of Immodesty and Impurity of all Sorts*, p. 269, for which, good Verses and much Malice make but a sorry amends.

In Colledge's Case, the *Historian* discovers again his inveterate Aversion to those that prosecuted the *Papish Plot*, and his as strong Affection to those that prosecuted the Dissenters. Colledge was murder'd by the Sentence of North the Chief Justice, at Oxford, after he had been clear'd by a London Jury. Mr. Richard has doubtless seen Sir John Hawles the Learned Solicitor-General's Remarks on Colledge's Tryal, proving it to be illegal, and consequently his Death a most barbarous Murder. He could not but know, that King, Lords and Commons, call'd it as much, when they repeal'd his Attainder; and yet he once more applies *Divine Vengeance* to his unjust and terrible Sufferings. *Whatever he was*, to use his own Words, 'tis hard to vindicate his insatiable Endeavours after the Blood of the Lord Stafford, and others; and his dying by the same Witnesses, whose Credit he had supported, looks more like the just Vengeance of Heaven, than the unjust Punishment of Men. The Behaviour of this poor Mechanick, at the Time of his Death, had so much of the Hero and Saint in it, as to shew us that Piety and Innocence are as capable of raising and enlarging the Mind, as Birth, Education, Riches and Honours. It must be own'd, his Zeal was superior to his Condition, and himself lamented the Intemperance of his Tongue in the warm Passions of

his Life. Now the Court, says the Bishop of Sarum, intended to set the Witnesses to swear against all the bad Party, which was plainly Murder in them, who believ'd them false Witnesses, and yet made use of them to destroy others. And now his Majesty enjoy'd himself, as Echard writes, more than in some Tears before; being complimented by the Addresses of his Subjects, which still flow'd from all Parts of the Kingdom.

I have read the History of Addresses, and there's not any where else to be met with so much Pustian, Flattery, False Zeal, Contradiction, foul Language, Execration, Malice, Revenge, Dulness and Nonsense. Quack Bills are Treasures to them for Honesty, good Sense, Learning and Eloquence. What an Enjoyment here was! A Dream had been a much more solid one. "The greater Number, and more acceptable of these Addresses, says Bishop Burnet, are those which declar'd they would adhere to the unalterable Succession of the Crown in the Lineal and Legal Descent, and condemn'd the Bill of Exclusion. Others went higher, and arraign'd the late Parliament, as guilty of Sedition and Treason. Here's Enjoyment with a Witness; and nothing could please our Historian more, but what follows. Some reflected severely on the Nonconformists, and thank'd the King for not repealing the Act of the Thirty Fifth of Elizabeth, which they pray'd might be put in Execution: Some of them much magnified the King's Person and Government.

What that Government was, is now very well known; and such as it was, the most fulsome Panegyrick upon it was spoken by Dr. Gower, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, printed at large in Mr. Echard's History, as if it was really worth Reading. The Doctor, next to the over-ruling

Provi-

Providence of God, (these Men are not afraid of taking that Sacred Name in vain) blesses himself in his Majesty's Royal Care and Providence, by giving so seasonable a Check to arbitrary and insolent Undertakings: The Parliament he means, out of the abundance of his Understanding and Modesty. There were a few Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament, and a vast Number of Addresses in Abhorrence of these Petitions. We read in Bishop Burnet's History, that the witty Marquis of Halifax could not help shewing his Contempt of these Speech-makers and Addressers. The Petitioners for a Parliament, said he, spit in the King's Face; but the Addressers spit in his Mouth.

The King goes to Cambridge soon after the Reverend Doctor's Speech was over, and the Queen had a Noble Present from the University, very equal to the Vice-Chancellor's Panegyrick, which certainly had not been repriev'd from the most indecent Offices so long, had it not taken Shelter in Echard's History. The Present was, Dugdale's View of the late Troubles.

This was not all which contributed to the King's enjoying himself more than he had done in several Years before. The Bishop adds, "Many zealous Healths were drank; and in their Cups, the old Valour and Swaggerings of the Cavaliers seem'd to be reviv'd."

Though Dangerfield's Plot turn'd on the Papists, yet they would not give over, but resolv'd to try another of the like Kind. A Second treasonable Libel was to have been dispers'd, search'd for, and found in the Custody of the chief Lords and Commons of the Protestant Interest. The Libel was written with the King's Privy, as we read in Echard; and to find out the Bottom of it,

it, the Parliament at Oxford resolv'd to proceed against *Fitz-Harris*, the Author or Contriver of it, by *Impeachment*; to prevent which, the King dissolv'd them, and *Fitz-Harris* was hang'd out of the way.

Here *Mr. Echard* prepares for the future *Murders*, under Pretence of a *Presbyterian Plot*, by telling you what that Learned, Ingenious, and Judicious Divine, *Mr. Hawkins*, *Tower-Chaplain*, receiv'd in Confession from the *Papist Fitz-Harris*; That the Protestant Party had a Design to seize the Person of the King; which is as likely as many other Things in his History, or as that they would let a *Papist Lawyer* into the Secret.

This Confession of *Fitz-Harris*, with all the staring Marks of *Imposture*, is recorded in the same *Chronicle*, where an Account is given of the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Indictment, and the *Irish Evidence* that swore against him. But what, says *Mr. Echard*, made more Noise than their Testimony, and had greater Effects upon the Nation, was the Association found in the Earl's Study, which he boldly asserts was believ'd to have been form'd by himself; whereas there was not a sober sensible Man in England that believ'd a Word of it, unless it were the Faction that spit in the King's Mouth: And if they were sensible sober Persons, let their Works judge them.

Quite contrary once more to this *Mr. Echard*, we have the Bishop of *Sarum*: But when there was a Talk of an Association, as there lately had been in Parliament, some had form'd this Paper, and brought it to him; of which he always profess'd, after the Matter was over, that he remember'd nothing at all: So it is probable that, as is ordinary when any great Business is before the Parliament, that zealous Men are at the Doors with their se-

veral Draughts; this was one of theſe, caſt careleſſly by, and not thought of by him, when he had ſent his more valuable Papers out of the way. Notwithſtanding all which, our Hiſtorian tells us, it rous'd the Indignation, and rais'd the higheſt Reſentment; which ſpent it ſelf in the inhuman Perſecution of our Proteſtant Brethren.

One of the dulleſt and moſt malignant Addreſſes was ſent up by a Parcel of idle Fellows at Briſtol, call'd the *Artillery Company*. By the abundance of Epithets, one would think the Hiſtorian had had the wording of it himſelf. He is ſo fond of it, that he has given it the ſame Room as the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge's Speech had; and it is altogether as worthy. Theſe *Artillery Men* proteſt againſt the *Rebellious, Accurſed, Hellish, Unprecedented Association*.

The Duke of York had been in Scotland, and paſs'd a *Teſt-Act*, which occaſion'd the Condemnation of the Earl of Argyle, who eſcap'd his Cruelty by Flight. In the Duke's Paſſage to England, aboard the *Gloceſter-Frigat*, the Ship ſtruck on ſome Sands, and was caſt away. In Mr. Eſchard's Account of this Shipwreck, there's more *Partiality* and *Miſrepresentation*, than one would think could be expreſs'd in ſo few Words. I leave it to the Reader, whether I might not have call'd it *Falſhood*; but I'm not delighted with the Word, and wiſh I had not been oblig'd ſo often to make uſe of it.

His Royal Highneſs ſtay'd, till having Notice given that there was above Seven Foot Water in the Hold, he put off in his Pinnace, with as many of the *BEST* Perſons as it would well hold, and ſav'd himſelf aboard the *Mary Yatch*.

Now read the Biſhop of Salisbury's Account, "The Duke got into a Boat, and took care of his Dogs, and ſome unknown Perſons, who
" were

“ were taken, from that Care of his, to be his
 “ Priests. The Long-Boat went off with *very*
 “ few in her, though she might have carry’d off
 “ above Eighty more than she did. One Hun-
 “ dred and Fifty Persons perish’d : Some Men of
 “ great Quality. But the Duke took no Notice
 “ of this cruel Neglect ; which was laid chiefly
 “ to the Charge of Legg, afterwards Lord Dart-
mouth, and one of our *Historian’s* Heroes.

Can any Thing agree less with *Historical* Truth,
 than the former Account compar’d with the lat-
 ter ? And I doubt not, this will warrant my ma-
 king use of the Terms *Falsbood* and *Misrepresenta-*
tion. I would not offend against Decency, but
 on the surest Grounds ; and then it ceases to be
 an Offence.

After he has borrow’d from *L’Estrange*, and
 the other *Hireling* Writers, whatever they say
 most fulsome of that illegal Administration, and
 most virulent against the *Asserters of Liberty* ; he
 begins to consider, that every Word he says of
 that Kind is Sedition, if not Treason against our
 present Establishment, founded on Revolution
 Principles. He owns, *The Clergy swell’d Things*
so high, as made them so difficult to be reconcil’d
with the Liberties of the Nation, or with the great
Deliverance that happen’d afterwards. All this is
 right ; and had such Sentiments as these guided
 him through his Work, we should not have dif-
 fer’d. But he cannot help declaring presently af-
 ter, that the Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience* and
Non-Resistance were not only more Fashionable, but
 more necessary than ever they had been before ;
 which is as wrong, as it is possible for any Thing
 to be right : For, never was the Government of
 England more Tyrannical ; never did Oppression
 rage more than at this Time. Himself is consci-

ous

ous of the wicked Practices of the Ministers, to accomplish their bloody Purposes.

While the *Sheriffs* of *London* were honest, that is, Men of Religion and Virtue, *Juries* were not pack'd to do any Business, but the *Law's*. The *Lord Shaftsbury's* Jury consisted of the most eminent Citizens of *London*, either for Wealth or Worth.

Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Baronet.

Sir John Mordaunt, Baronet.

Sir Humphrey Edwyn, afterwards Lord-Mayor.

Sir Edmund Harrison.

Sir Leonard Robinson, afterwards Chamberlain.

Michael Godfrey, Esq; afterwards Governor of the Bank.

Thomas Papillon, Esq; Members of Parlia-

Edward Rudge, Esq; ment.

John Dubois, Esq; &c.

When Mr. Wilmore, Foreman of Colledge's Ignoramus Jury, was try'd, and found guilty of sending a Boy to *Jamaica*, by a Jury of *Kentish* Men; Echard has this very wise and mannerly Reflection upon it. *The Kentish Jury* never went from the Bar; so much Difference was there between a Country and a City Jury.

I don't know how to reflect on this vile Comparison between so eminent worthy Citizens, and a pack'd Jury of *Kentish* Yeomen, who for their Perjury in an illegal Verdict, might very well have lost Eight or Ten Ears, to use his own Terms, and have had no Injustice done them. Echard affirms the Boy was stolen. Sir John Hawles, who has made Remarks on this scandalous Tryal, tells us, *The Boy was Mr. Wilmore's Servant, and went to Sea by Agreement.* Sir John adds, *Juries were*

were not to be pack'd, while the Election of Sheriffs was in the Citizens, and to the Honour of the City. It was seen, that they chose only Honest Men to be their Sheriffs. Misrepresentation is too soft a Word for such History; but I have not yet learn'd from his own, to use the Terms Villainous, Hellish, &c. The London Juries began to be distinguish'd, says he, and fam'd abroad in the Nation for Rascals and Scoundrels, that gave Verdicts against their Consciences. To prevent this, the Court resolv'd upon Two Expedients, to alter the late Method of electing Sheriffs, and to bring a Quo Warranto against the City Charter. You'll see how he compliments the City Juries, who were pack'd after the Court had alter'd the Method of electing Sheriffs, stain'd as they were with the Blood of the Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, Alderman Cornish, &c. Obscure and infamous Sheriffs were impos'd upon the City; and the Laws were put into the Hands of those Butchers, Jefferies, Wright, and their Brethren. The rest of this Reign is nothing but a Series of illegal and sanguinary Proceedings. It began with the pretended Election of North and Rich, Sheriffs of London, which was carry'd on by the Creatures of the Court, with Tumult and Violence.

Mr. Bopart's Representation of the Fact is entirely on that Side, though the Consequences of it were so terrible, and so many Butcheries immediately follow'd. I must abridge his Account.

“ Moore, the Lord-Mayor, drank to North according to ancient Custom; by which he was chosen Sheriff.

Pray mind his Positiveness here, in a Thing he knew nothing of. He does not say nominated, or design'd; but that he was elected Sheriff, by having a Cup of Sack drank to him.

“ Moore

“ Moore summon’d a Hall to confirm North’s
 “ Election, and so chose Box for the other Sher-
 “ riff. Against these Papillon and Dubois were
 “ put up. The Poll was manag’d by the Sheriffs
 “ Pilkington and Shute, who refus’d the Names
 “ of those that offer’d to poll in Confirmation of
 “ North, and the Election of Box; *which is di-*
 “ *rectly false, and so is what follows:* But took
 “ Names on the other Side of Persons who were
 “ not actually present, *than which nothing can be*
 “ *false,* or not duly entitled to vote. Upon this
 “ the Lord Mayor adjourn’d the Hall, and the
 “ Crowd was so great, that he was thrown upon
 “ his Knees. However, the Two Sheriffs conti-
 “ nu’d the Poll without him till Night. The
 “ Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs were sent
 “ for to Court, where the Matter being FUL-
 “ L Y examin’d by the King and Council, the Two
 “ Sheriffs were sent to the Tower, to prevent
 “ their continuing the Poll.

By this, without farther Proof, it appears
 that the King and his Council interfer’d in a
 Thing which did not belong to them, and impri-
 son’d the Sheriffs of London for doing their Duty.
 As to their refusing Votes on one Side, and ta-
 king false ones on the other, let me only ob-
 serve farther, that it was extremely needless,
 Papillon and Dubois having near two to one against
 North and Rich. The Ceremony of drinking was
 never look’d upon but as a Nomination or Desig-
 nation, of no Force till confirm’d by the Common
 Hall. But Mr. Echard will have it, that North
 was fully and fairly chosen, by being drank to.
 Drinking indeed has been one of the best Friends
 to the Cause he espouses, and the Religion and
 Zeal of it have been most apparent in the Toasts
 which from this scandalous Era have been the
 chief Support of it. But that Sheriffs were to be
 chosen

chosen by a Glass of Wine only, is as ridiculous as the Effects of it were dreadful. The Bishop of Salisbury says, *The Charter granted the Election of Sheriffs to the City of London, and whatever Customs had crept in among them, the Right still lay where the Charter had lodg'd it: But the Court was resolv'd to carry this Point. The Common Hall urg'd, the Right of chusing both Sheriffs was in them. The old Sheriffs put it according to Custom to a Poll, and it was visible the much greater Number was against the Lord Mayor. The Sheriffs were always understood to be the Officers of that Court, so the adjourning it belong'd to them; yet the Mayor adjourn'd it; which, they said, he had no Power to do; and went on with the Poll. There was no Disorder in the whole Progress of the Matter: But though the Mayor's Party carry'd themselves with great Insolence towards the other Party, yet they shew'd on this Occasion more Temper than could have been expected from so great a Body, who thought their Rights were invaded.*

Nevertheless Mr. Echard assures you, that after the FULL Examination of the Matter, an Information was order'd to be exhibited against the Two Sheriffs, and Alderman Cornish, for being Promoters and Encouragers of the late enormous Riot, where no Disorder happen'd. The Bishop goes on.

“ The Mayor upon this resolv'd to take another Poll, to which none shou'd be admitted,
 “ but those that would be contented to vote only for one, and to approve his Nomination of the other, and it was resolv'd that his Poll
 “ should be that by which the Business should be settled; and though the Sheriffs Poll exceeded
 “ his by many Hundreds, yet Orders were given to return those on the Mayor's Poll. Box,
 “ who was chosen by the Mayor's Party, refus'd
 “ to

“ to serve on so doubtful an Election, and could
 “ not be persuaded to hold it; so it was neces-
 “ sary to call a new *Common Hall*. And then
 “ without any *Proclamation* made, as was usual,
 “ one in a Corner near the *Mayor* nam'd *Rich*,
 “ and about 30 more applauded it: Those in
 “ the Hall that was full of People and of Noise,
 “ hearing nothing of it. Upon this it was said
 “ that *Rich* was chosen without any Contradi-
 “ ction. The Violence and Injustice with which
 “ this Matter was manag'd, shew'd that the
 “ Court was resolv'd to carry that Point at any
 “ Rate; and this gave great Occasion of Jeal-
 “ ously that some wicked Design was on Foot,
 “ for which it was necessary in the first Place to
 “ have favourable *Juries*.

Yet it could not be imagin'd that so many Murders, Whippings, prodigious Fines, could have been procur'd in Two or Three Years Time. But they drove fast on, and their Fate was suitable to their Speed. See how Mr. *Echard* insults the honest Citizens of *London*, and flatters the Court Creatures on this Occasion.

The Power of the same Party, the Protestant Interest, began sensibly to diminish, and so sensibly that Heraclitus thought it not necessary to contend with them any longer, but totally laid down his Satyrical Pen, after Eighteen Months Use of it, in a Sort of Triumph; that Wittal had so long scribbled in the Buffoon Way, and little expected to be recorded in the Chronicles of England.

In his Panegyrick upon *Rich* he informs us, he was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia, and had been a Parliament-Man; but he does not tell us that he voted for the Bill of *Exclusion*, and that *Moore* the Mayor was just come out of a *Conventicle*. They were both weak Men, and were easily prevail'd upon to change Sides. *Rich* especi-

T

ally

ally was a Man of as mean Fortune as Capacity, liable to be engag'd in any Cause he could make a Market of. Sir John Hawles says Box refus'd because he would not join with North, who was impos'd upon the City by a shameless Trick, the other by open Force. "Whereupon, to use the Historian's Words, The Lord Mayor dissolv'd the Court, and return'd to his House in Triumph.

With what Triumphs does he bedeck his Incomparable History! Indeed they are the only Triumphs of the Party he writes for. They have by Trick and Force many times triumph'd over the Laws of our Country, and over the Lives and Fortunes of our best Countrymen. But when a fair Field has been open to them, we have seen how triumphant they were during the Course of a long War.

I have blest'd my self, that considering the Disposition of the Court, and the Honesty of the Judges and Sheriffs, there was so much innocent Blood left. What might one not have expected, when the Lives of so many zealous Protestants were at their Mercy; and 'twas scarce possible for them to want Juries, after the People had been so long instructed from the Pulpits to treat the Asserters of Liberty as Rebels and Regicides?

'Tis pleasant to see how critical our Historian is in his Expressions in the Case of the Candidates for Mayor. His Words are these:

Sir William Pritchard was set up against Two Aldermen.

He means Sir Thomas Gould and Henry Cornish, Esq, Two great Merchants, and Sir William Pritchard, a Mechanick.

Sir William Pritchard had	2138
Gould	2124
Cornish	2093

The Majority was so far from being uncontested, though the Faction had Sheriffs for their Purpose, that Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Wallop*, Two of the most eminent Lawyers in *England*, mov'd in the *King's Bench* for a *Mandamus* to swear *Alderman Gould*, or *Alderman Cornish*, which, says *Echard*, was look'd upon as ridiculous; and so it was, to imagine that Law and Justice were to be had at that *Bench* at that Time against the Will and Pleasure of the King. See the Bishop of *Sarum's* State of this Case.

"The Poll for *Mayor* was clos'd when the
 "Court thought they had a Majority, but upon
 "casting it up, it appear'd they had lost it; so
 "they fell to canvass it, and they made such Ex-
 "ceptions to those of the other Side, that they
 "discounted as many *Voices* as gave them the
 "Majority. This was also manag'd in so gross
 "a Manner, that it was visible the Court was re-
 "solved by fair or foul Means, to have the Go-
 "vernment of the City in their own Hands.
 "But because they would not be at this Trouble,
 "nor run this Hazard every Year, it was re-
 "solved that the Charter of the City must either
 "be given up, or be adjudg'd to the King.

I earnestly recommend to the Reader to compare the *Bishop's* History with the *Archdeacon's* at this Time. The *Antipodes* are not more contrary to one another, than the latter is to Truth, if the former is in the right.

His next Reflection is of the Kind I have frequently met with in his Work, such as requires great Temper to maintain Decency of Language. For having boasted that the *Whig Party* declin'd, he insinuates that from the Loss of the Lord *Mayor* and Sheriffs, they despair'd of succeeding any way, but by raising a *Rebellion*, and killing the *King* and *Duke*. For which Plots were soon

made, now *Juries* were ready. It prov'd a terrible Blow to the disaffected Party, and forc'd them to depend and rely upon more desperate Attempts, and to betake themselves to more secret Counsels and Contrivances.

At the End of the Year 1682, we have his Deaths and Characters, especially that of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, which I do not repeat to depreciate so great and worthy a Magistrate, but to shew what little Dependance is to be made on our *Historian's* Characteristicks. "He was a Person who by his great Abilities, Ingenuity and Industry had rais'd himself to the highest Posts in the Law, to all which he was a great Ornament, and in all which he so much distinguish'd himself, that he was by some stil'd the *Silver-tongu'd Finch*, and by others the *English Cicero*.

My Lord of *Sarum's* Character is this.

"He was a Man of Probity, and well vers'd in the Laws. He was long much admir'd for his Eloquence: But it was labour'd and affected, and he saw it as much despis'd before he dy'd.

I know so much of our *Historian's* Stile, that an affected and labour'd one may very well pass upon him for *Ciceronian*. In the next Page you have my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Character: When in Power the greatest Tyrant, when out the greatest Incendiary. It is observable, that his entire Friend Mr. Locke, though he displays his wonderful Abilities, and shews his Sagacity and Penetration almost to knowing of Men's Thoughts, says little or nothing of his Honesty, Simplicity or Integrity. Happy he that knows and practises these Divine Qualities. Mr. P. Coste, speaking of Mr. Locke, has these Expressions: "I wish I could give you a full Notion of the Idea which
" Mr.

“ Mr. *Locke* had of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*’s Merit: He lost no Opportunity of speaking of it, and that in a manner which sufficiently shew’d he spoke from his Heart. Mr. *Locke* himself, in his Letter about the *Test Act*, speaks thus of this Noble Lord: “ He was a Man of Diversion, of free and open Discourse, of great Abilities and Knowledge of Affairs; one that in all the Variety of Changes in this last Age, was neither known to be either bought or frighted out of his publick Principles. Glorious Marks these of Integrity. By an *Incendiary*, in such Histories as *Eckard*’s, is to be understood just such a Person, a Man of publick Principles, who would not basely give up the Rights and Liberties of his Country to Tyranny and Priestcraft. By *Seditious* is meant such as spoke and acted any Thing in Behalf of the Constitution and Protestant Religion, when brought into the utmost Danger by Popish and Arbitrary Counsels. By *Fanaticks* and *Schismaticks* we must understand all the Protestant Churches of *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, &c. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, though he liv’d in *Holland*, was stigmatiz’d as an *Incendiary*. Every Man who is now a dutiful Subject to his present Majesty, is not only *Seditious* but *Rebellious*, according to the Principles and Practices of the Faction, which Mr. *Eckard* has crown’d with Laurels, to *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* lately ingrafted into the Doctrine of our Church.

At this Time, says Bishop *Barnet*, *Juries* became the Shame of the Nation, as well as a Reproach to Religion. For they were pack’d and prepar’d to bring in Verdicts as they were directed, and not as Matters appear’d on the Evidence. Archdeacon *Eckard* is of another Opinion, and the Slaughter that follow’d upon these illegal Elections of Ma-

yor and Sheriffs, have made no manner of Impression upon him.

The *invisible Power* which directed the Wind over the King's House at *Newmarket*, when it was seiz'd by that *Providential Fire*, are Topicks well worth the Historian's Declamations, for which he had proper Materials from *L'Estrange* and the *Addresses*.

There's now no Occasion to expose the infamous Proceedings of *Judges* and *Juries*, on the pretended Discoveries of the *Rye-houfe* and *Presbyterian* Plots; the very Preparations for them, by securing Sheriffs, is a good Proof of this wicked Contrivance.

I am sensible the just Fears which the best *Englishmen* lay under of approaching *Popery* and *Slavery*, did occasion Discourse to prevent it, and that some hot Men might talk of unwarrantable Methods; but so it happens, that the Men set apart for Destruction, were not the Criminals, and the Noble *Patriots* that dy'd, suffer'd unjustly: However, they were Favourers of *Liberty of Conscience*, and therefore we shall find them brought to the *Bar*, and carry'd to the *Scaffold* in Mr. *Beard's* History, without either Compassion or Charity.

If I should go about to animadvert on *L'Estrange* and *Sprat's* Account of these notable *Conspiracies*, as they are copy'd by our *Historian*, I must make Use of as many Words as he has done, to remove the Rubbish, and come at the Truth. Those Two Writers were highly extoll'd by the Faction for their several Kinds of Writing, the *Sublime* and the *Facetious*, but neither of them much spoken of for Sincerity. As to *Sprat's* Eloquence, I shall content my self with what *Bishop Burnet* says. *Sprat went farther in his Sermon into the Belief of the Popish Plot than I did;*
but

but he insinuated his Fears of Undutifulness to the King in such a Manner, that the House of Commons did not send him Thanks, as they did to me, which raised his Merit at Court, as it increas'd the Displeasure against me. Sprat had studied a Polite Stile much, but there was little Strength in it, and he allow'd himself in much Sloth, and too many Liberties. And without such Allowance it had been impossible for him to have made so much of the Ryehouse Plot. I remember Eight or Ten Years after this Prodigious History of his, another of like Nature came from his Pen, giving an Account of a Contrivance of one Young, an Ecclesiastick, to bring him into a Plot, or get some Money out of him; upon which the World reflected, after Mr. Echard's Way, That the Fable of that feign'd Conspiracy, was a just Judgment upon him for the other Fable he wrote by Command of King Charles, which help'd a little to atone for his Panegyrick upon Cromwell.

L' Estrange, the Historian's other Original, who us'd to be call'd Oliver's Fiddler, was ever look'd upon as a loose, immoral, mercenary, foul-mouth'd Creature; a fit Instrument for the wicked Agents who employ'd him; whose Learning was Translation, his Wit Ribaldry, and his Language that of the Market. I know Mr. Echard is a Stranger to all this; and because he has borrow'd much of his Matter from him, as from the Standard of Truth and Eloquence, I shall repeat what is said of him in a Treatise of the *Classicks*, and of *Stile*, written by Dr. Felton, a very Orthodox Divine:

"He was neither an Orator, nor an Historian;
 "his Talent was Banter and Ridicule: And how
 "well qualify'd he was for the Translation of
 "Josephus, among a Thousand other Levities
 "and low Expressions, we may judge from the

“ Character of *Herod*, who was one that would
 “ keep Touch neither with God nor Man.”

Echard seems insensible of this Libeller's want of Decency and good Manners, or he would not have copy'd him so slavishly as he does. The *Fens*, indeed, are a very improper Place to refine a Man's Taste in ; but he may be as honest in the Dirt, as in the *Withdrawing-Room*. The Fault therefore is genuine, and the Corruption in the Mind, which could not observe the Falshood and Wickedness of *L'Estrange's* Libels. He had doubtless seen the Lord *L---*'s Speech in Parliament, after the Discovery of the *Popish Plot* ; but *L'Estrange* wrote against the *Presbyterians* as well as himself, and he has sunk that, together with other Speeches of the like Tendency. Some Persons, says his Lordship, notwithstanding the many Evidences of the Plot, have been industrious to revile the King's Evidences. No Man has done more so than Archdeacon *Echard*. Such a one is *Roger L'Estrange*, who now disappears, being one of the greatest Villains upon Earth : A Rogue, beyond my Skill to delineate ; who has been the Bugbear of the Protestant Religion, and traduc'd the King and Kingdom's Evidence by his notorious Scribblings, and has endeavour'd as much as in him lay to eclipse the Glory of the English Nation. He is a dangerous rank Papist, prov'd by good and substantial Evidence ; for which, since he has walk'd under another Disguise, he deserves of all Men to be hang'd ; and I believe I shall live to see that be his Fate.

This is the Man who has furnish'd the Archdeacon with most of his *Memoirs* for the Plots in King *Charles the Second's* Reign. This is the Man, whom (p. 793.) he extols for his Honesty and Courage in writing bold Truths ; p. 1009, for

for his *Dexterity, Quickness, Triumphs*; and preventing the Ruin of the Nation, 1051.

I have already observ'd, that one must expect to find *Rascals* in such a *Rascally* Business as Evidence, especially Capital Cases: But there was not an *Irish* Witness in the Lord *Shaftsbury's* and *Colledge's* Tryals, nor *Bedlow*, nor *Dugdale*, nor *Oates*, in the *Popish* Plot, had so detestable a Character as *West* the Lawyer: He was as great a Villain in his Profession as ever practis'd; and the greatest Villain I ever heard of in my Life, was an entire Confident of his. I knew the Men, and speak from my Conscience. There's no Acrimony in this Stile, but plain Historical Truth, which will appear in another Place; yet on the Evidence of this *West*, that pious and illustrious Patriot, the *belov'd* Lord *Russel* lost his most valuable Life. *West* drew up a *Narrative*, to sell to the Ministers. Bishop *Burnet* read it, and says, *They were so wise at Court, that they would not suffer it to be printed; for then it would have appear'd too gross to be believ'd.* Gross as it was, it goes down with our Historian, who digests it comfortably, though the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, &c. were murder'd by it. My Lord of *Sarum* adds; "The Part of all that seem'd the
"most amazing, was, that it was to have been
"executed on the Day on which the King had
"intended to return from *Newmarket*. But the
"happy Fire, that sent him away a Week sooner,
"had quite defeated the whole Plot, while it was
"within a Week of its Execution, and neither
"Horses, Men, nor Arms yet provided. Preach-
"ers and Poets had here a noble Subject to en-
"large upon, and to shew how the Two innocent
"Popish Brothers, the King, and the Duke, were
"under the watchful Care of Providence, that
"preserv'd them for the Destruction of our Religion,
"Laws,

“ *Laws, and Liberties* : Very consistent this with plain Reason, and common Sense.

I cannot mention my Lord *Russel's* Tryal, without being touch'd with Two very different Passions, Tendernefs and Indignation. Mr. *Echard* goes through it with uncommon Calmness, and assures us, the *Necessity of the Times was a main Reason* for murdering him. He stiles it, for the *King's being inexorable*.

Sir *John Hawkes*, the Solicitor-General's Remarks on his Lordship's Tryal, prove it to be the most illegal and Impudent Act of Barbarity and Injustice, which is any where remember'd. Bishop *Burnet* explains it still farther, and whatever Fortune had befall'n those that promoted the Prosecution, or those that suffer'd it to have so tragical an End, I should always with equal Reason and Justice have imputed it to *Divine Vengeance*. Bishop *Burnet*, speaking of Dr. *Tillotson* and his Conferences with his Lordship in Prison, tells us, My Lord desir'd to be excus'd as to *Politicks*, and had not *Leisure for such Discourses*. Mr. *Echard*, whose Book is very much swell'd by *Insertions*, inserts the Letter Dr. *Tillotson* wrote his Lordship about Passive Obedience. The *Historian* would not be satisfy'd with an Abridgment of it, being so delighted with the Subject. That Letter, make the most of it, is one of the weakest Pieces which ever came from that most Eloquent and Learned Prelate. The Subject would not bear more; and it is very plain 'twas given to the Iniquity of the Times. Mr. *Echard* says, it does not appear *what Effect it had*; but it does now appear, that it had no Effect at all. The Bishop of *Salisbury* informs us, my Lord *Russel* thought a Government limited by Law was only a Name, if the Subject might not maintain those Limitations by Force, otherwise all was at

at the Discretion of the Prince; which was contrary to all the Notions he had liv'd in of our Government. Truth needs but few Words; and there's the whole of the Argument. What the Bishop adds of my Lord's Confession, contains as much of the Plot as is consistent with Credibility; *There was nothing among them, but the Embrio's of Things that were never like to have any Effect, and were now quite dissolv'd.* But, God be thank'd, the Conspiracy which was form'd Six Years after by Archbishop Sancroft, the Bishops and Clergy, the Nobility and Commonalty of England, in direct Opposition to *Passive Obedience*, did take Effect, and abdicated the Duke of York, when King.

I did not expect that this Historian would part with my Lord Russel, without laying a Load on his Memory. *Most thought, his Speech was drawn up with more Art, than was agreeable to his Lordship's known Simplicity:* Most did not think so; or that a Person of his Lordship's known Simplicity, would dye with a Lye in his Mouth. Bishop Burnet informs us, *He offer'd to take his Oath before the King and Council, that the Speech was penn'd by my Lord Russel himself.* Echard says after Sprat, *Time had since shewn the Speech to be full of Enormous Falshoods.* Sprat's Character is so notorious, that I would not have blemish'd the meanest Offender upon his Authority; and if he did not heartily repent of this very wicked Calumny on this pious Peer, the Lord have Mercy upon him. Does it consist with what the Historian himself speaks of my Lord's *Rectitude of Soul, Probity, Simplicity, Piety, &c.* Is the Hour of Death a Time for such a Mind to learn Dissimulation? What Sprat says, is notoriously false; and why does the Historian repeat it, if he

did not approve of it? If he did, let him take his Share of the Offence.

This was a sure way to mortify the *Whigs*, to use his own Terms. Opposition was now Treason; the Charter of London was destroy'd by another illegal Judgment: The King made Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and Things were carry'd without *Faction Heats and Animosities*, his own Words again; and they must be interpreted, to come to Guild-Hall, and Poll for honest Magistrates, is *Faction Heat and Animosity*.

All the World knows that there was not the least Appearance of Law in the Tryal and Condemnation of Colonel Sidney. The wicked Instruments concern'd in it, Judges, Lawyers, and Juries, had shewn themselves honest Men, and every whit as merciful, if they had knock'd him on the Head at the Bar, for then the Law at least had not suffer'd with him. Colonel Sidney in his last Prayer, thank'd God that he was singled out to dye as a *Witness for the Old Cause, in which he engag'd himself from his Youth*. That Cause was resisting a cruel Tyrannical Administration, which we also did effectually resist in our Days; and in doing which, the Legislature justifies us in the Process and Judgment against *Sacheverel*, now universally acknowledg'd to have been a Tool; yet *Eccard* cries out, *This was thought so enthusiastical and shocking, that his Death was much less pity'd and lamented*. By whom was it so thought, by any one Master of so much Reason and good Sense as he himself was? The Historian owns, his Death was more a Murder than any of the rest: *The Hardships he met with, were greater than any before him*. Bishop Burnet does not talk as he does of the Old Cause, but says, *These last Words furnish'd much Matter to the Scribblers, who treated them as Shocking and Enthusiastical*.

stical. Mr. *Echard* is in a little Extasy upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* surrendring himself, and corroborating the Lord *Howard's* Evidence about a *Council of Six*; one would think he was sure what he said was true, before he made such Rejoycings; for though he positively asserts it, yet I cannot trust to it, but must examine it by the Bishop of *Salisbury's* History: "The King said next Day that *James*, for so he call'd the Duke of *Monmouth*, had confirm'd all that *Howard* had sworn. This was carry'd to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who deny'd he had ever said any such Thing; adding, that the Lord *Howard* was a Liar and a Rogue. The Duke of *Monmouth* had made an humble Confession of his Offences in general Words, only *Echard* assures you he confess'd that Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Mead*, Mr. *Griffith*, and all the considerable Nonconformist Ministers, knew of the Conspiracy, which are particular Words. But what then, did not *Saunders*, *Compton*, *Ken*, *Trelawny*, *Turner*, &c. and almost all the Bishops and chief Clergy in *England*, know of the Conspiracy to deliver us from that King which *Passive Obedience* had impos'd upon us? for he had been excluded Eight Years before, had not the *Bill* been batter'd by the Artillery of both Pulpit and Press.

The *Historian* does not think the State Butchers have let out Blood enough; and upon *Holloway's* Execution tells us, He confess'd most of the Particulars that had been open'd and discover'd at the Tryal of the Persons executed before him, such as Lord *Russel* and Colonel *Sidney*. He gave a List of several Names of other Persons concern'd in the Plot. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, he own'd Meetings about an Insurrection, but that no Progress was ever made in it: That as to the Lopping Part, there were not above Five Persons that approv'd of it, but that *West* was for killing the King and Duke.

The

The Bishop adds, *Holloway* was thought by the Court not to be sincere in his Confession; and so, since what he acknowledged made himself guilty, he was executed without Tryal. At the Place of Execution, Mr. Echard says, he confess'd his Belief of a Plot, as is above related; and as I always believ'd, That the Tyranny and Oppression of the then Government, animated by flattering Sermons and Addresses, had provok'd the Lovers of our Constitution so much, that they would have resisted as well then, had there been any reasonable Foundation for them to have built upon, as they did a few Years after with Success and Glory. But no Progress was made in any Thing. The Bishop of Salisbury's Account of *Holloway's* Behaviour, will let us into the Secret of the Matter.

“ He dy'd in a firm Constancy, and shew'd
 “ great Presence of Mind. He observ'd the Partiality that was evident in managing this Plot,
 “ different from what had appear'd in managing
 “ the Popish Plot. The same Men that were
 “ call'd Rogues when they swore against Papists,
 “ were look'd on as honest Men, when they
 “ turn'd their Evidence against Protestants.

This dying Person's Observation is the same I have often made, and there is no where a more flagrant Instance of this Partiality, than in Mr. Echard's History of the Popish, the Rye-house, and Presbyterian Plots. The Bishop proceeds:

“ In all his Answers to the Sheriffs, *Dashwood*
 “ and *Daniel*, who at the Place of Execution
 “ troubled him with many impertinent Questions,
 “ he answer'd them with so much Life, that it
 “ appear'd he was no ordinary Man: His Speech
 “ was suppress'd for some Days, but it broke out
 “ at last. In it he express'd a deep Sense of Religion: His Prayer was an excellent Compo-
 “ sure;

“ sure ; the Credit of the *Rye Plot* receiv'd a
 “ great Blow by his *Confession*.

Our Historian mentions his free *Confession* and
Narrative, but does not give the least Hint of a-
 ny Blow the *Ryehouse Plot* receiv'd by it. He
 tells us indeed, he did not join altogether with
 the *Church of England*, which perhaps he was not
 sorry for, since they resolv'd to hang him. The
Bishop again.

“ All the Discourse about an *Insurrection*, in
 “ which the Day was said to be set, appear'd now
 “ to be a Fiction, since *Bristol* had been so little
 “ taken Care of, that Three Persons had only
 “ undertaken to dispose People to that Design,
 “ but had not yet let it out to any of them.

What follows gives us a full and clear Idea of
 both the pretended Conspiracies, the *Ryehouse* and
Presbyterian. They were *Embrio's* without any
 Form ; and what a dreadful Thing is it to hear
 People profaning God's most holy Name, by cal-
 ling upon him to defend them from *Plots* of their
 own making, and giving him Thanks for his De-
 fence ; How will they be able to account for such
Mockery!

“ So that it was plain, continues the *Bishop*,
 “ that after all the Story they had made of the
 “ Plot, it had gone no farther, than that a Com-
 “ pany of seditious inconsiderable Persons were
 “ framing among themselves some treasonable
 “ Schemes, that were never likely to come to a-
 “ ny Thing. And that *West* and *Rumsey* had
 “ pushed on the execrable Design of the Assas-
 “ sination, in which, though there were few that
 “ agreed to it, yet too many had heard of it
 “ from them, who were so foolish and so wicked
 “ as not to discover them.

By

By which they became guilty only of *Misprision of Treason*, but were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, as if they had been taken in Arms.

The next Sufferer was Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, whose Life had been that of a *Court-Rake*, and he had no Principle to guide him, but the natural one of *Liberty*. He was betray'd in *Holland* for Money, and being examin'd before the *Council*, said, *He knew of no Plot but the Popish Plot*, and desir'd *he might have a fair Tryal for his Life*; which was deny'd him, so he was hang'd upon an *Outlawry* not legally determin'd, as Sir *John Hawles* plainly proves. Bishop *Burnet* assures us, there was nothing against him, but his hearing the Discourses at *Shepherd's*. His Lordship adds, *By this Time the Credit of the Witnesses was so blasted, that it seems the Court was afraid that Juries would not now be so easy as they had been.* Mr. *Echard* is not of this Opinion, and will by no Means allow, that the Credit of the Witnesses was or cou'd be *blasted*, or that the Juries had been too *easy*. I have made use of the low Terms, *Butchers and Butcheries*, as suiting exactly with the bloody Characters of the Statesmen and their Instruments in these Times. I shall add this other Proof of their deserving them, from the Bishop of *Salisbury*: When *Armstrong* insisted that he ask'd nothing *but the Law*, *Jefferies* in his brutal way said, he should have it to the *Full*, and so order'd his Execution in Six Days.

What distinguishes the Christian Religion in the most particular Manner from all others, are the Sentiments of Love, Union and Charity, with which it inspires every enlighten'd Mind. Where do these Divine Sentiments appear in our *Historian's* Treatment of Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, when the Hangman had him in Hand, and is about to murder him? *He was the less pity'd, because*

cause his Hands had been before defil'd with Blood in a *Duel*; which in another Man would have been a Gallant Action. I abhor such Gallantry, and do not urge it to extenuate Sir *Thomas Armstrong's* Guilt, but to let the Reader see how unreasonable that hard Reflection is made, and how inhuman and absurd the following one is; He was executed at *Tyburn*, on *Friday the 20th of June*, which was observ'd to be the same Day of the same Month, and the same Day of the Week on which the *Five Jesuits* were executed in the same Manner, in the same Place, just Five Tears before. The Wit of which, some of the smartest in the Book, consists in *Five Sames*, and *Two Fives*; and sure so many *Sames* were never us'd to the same bad Purpose, to insinuate another Instance of *Divine Vengeance*, in the illegal Punishment of *Armstrong* for the *Presbyterian Plot*. Poor dying *Holloway* bore his Testimony against this very same Partiality. How unfair as well as foolish would the Author think me, if I should say his History was publish'd on *Friday*, the same Day of the same Month, and the same Day of the Week on which the *Oxford Decree*, containing the same Bigotry, and the same Bitterness, was burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

I cannot, with our *Historian*, speak much in Praise of the *Peaceable Times* in the Year 1684, when, besides the *Butcheries* before-mention'd, there was nothing heard of in our Streets, but Persecution and Complaint on one Side, and Insolence and Riot on the other; neither can I, with him, exaggerate the Advantages of King *Charles's* Standing Army, unless his *subduing the City of London* be allow'd to be one.

U

I have

I have gone through this inactive inglorious Reign. What Activity there was in it, was exerted against our Protestant Allies the *Dutch*, and Protestant Brethren the Dissenters. Our Counsels were such, as render'd us the Contempt of all the Nations around us; and there was nothing but Fear and Jealousy among our selves. Bishop *Burnet* has given us the Character of King *Charles* the Second at Large, and I take it to be one of the most like and disagreeable Pictures that ever was drawn. The Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, confirms almost every Part of it in his Character, printed by Mr. *Echard*; and what Reason the smaller Clergy had to adore him as a Religious Orthodox Prince of ever blessed Memory, may be seen by what the Bishop and the Earl write of him, to which I refer.

Books for this Period.

Philip's History.

Sir William Temple's Memoirs.

History of the Treaty of Nimeguen.

Bishop Burnet's History.

State Tracts.

C. H. A. P.

CHAP. V.

Of the Reign of King James II.

I Now draw near the end of my long and ungrateful Work. In the History of this Prince, the Tyranny affects the Church of England, as well as the Dissenters. And indeed the latter had least Reason to complain.

The *Historian* and I shall agree pretty well, when we have routed *Monmouth*, and put a stop to the violent Proceedings against *Nonconformists*. So long as King *James* continues them, he has very rarely an unkind Word for him, but when they are over, we both speak in the same Tone.

To pursue my Method, I shall take the History of this Reign out of that of a *Standing Army*, from whence I took the Histories of the Three preceding Kings. The Reader will soon be convinc'd, that our *Historian* had never fallen out with King *James*, if he had never fallen out with the Church; and that his Attempts to destroy our Liberties, would otherwise have been as tenderly touch'd by him, as King *Charles* the Second's, if he had let the *Clergy* alone.

“As soon as King *James* came to the Crown, he seiz'd the Customs and Excise without Authority of Parliament. He pluck'd out the Scum and Scandals of the Law, to make Judges upon the Bench, and turn'd out all that would not sacrifice their Oaths to his Ambition, by which he discharg'd the Lords out of the Tower, inflicted those barbarous Punishments on Mr. *Johnson*, *Dangerfield*, and *butcher* & m-

“ ny Hundreds of Men in the *West*, after they
 “ had been trepann’d into a Confession by Pro-
 “ mise of Pardon; murder’d *Cornish*, &c.

So far we shall find the *King* and the *Historian* in perfect Harmony, he will not quarrel with him for Two or Three Hangings and Whippings, as he blames *Cromwell* for quarrelling about Three or Four *Ears*, meaning *Dr. Leighton*, *Dr. Bastwick*, *Mr. Prynne*, and *Mr. Burton*, Men of Character, and by no Means equal to such Insolence. Again,

“ *King James* turn’d the Fellows of *Magda-*
 “ *len College* out of their Freeholds, to make
 “ way for a Seminary of Priests; and hang’d
 “ Soldiers for running from their Colours, as in
 “ Time of War. He erected the *Ecclesiastical*
 “ *Commission*, suspended the Bishop of *London*, be-
 “ cause he would not inflict the same Punishment
 “ upon *Dr. Sharp*, &c.

I need repeat no more, his whole Reign being a confess’d Series of Tyranny, especially the following Part of it, in which the *Historian* will join with me, though he has some Reasons why he will not do it as yet: The chief one I take to be, that as yet the Dissenters are treated as the inferior Clergy would have them.

Mr. Echard prints the Addresses at large, which compliment the *King* upon his seizing the Customs; and tells you, that from the *Temple* was drawn up by *Sir Bartholomew Shower*, Brother to *John Shower*, the Presbyterian Minister, and presented by a Knight of like Fame, especially in the House of Commons, *Sir Humphry Mackworth*, accompany’d by a Noble Train of Lawyers, and introduc’d by his Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*; for which his Grace deserves no more Glory than a Place in his History can give him. Out of which I must borrow a very large Paragraph.

71

“ There’s

“ There’s one thing said about this Coronation,
 “ and another Coronation that has been too often
 “ quoted; *Observe how positive he is, and yet I*
 “ *am about to quote it again,* “ and believ’d of late,
 “ and now not to be forgotten; and this was in
 “ a Speech spoken by the Lord Chief Baron At-
 “ kins to Sir William Ashburt when he was sworn
 “ Lord Mayor; giving several Instances of the
 “ arbitrary Designs of the late Kings of England,
 “ he brings this for one. *The striking out of that*
 “ *Part of the ancient Oath in King Charles the*
 “ *First’s Time, at his Coronation by Archbishop*
 “ *Laud (that the King should consent to such*
 “ *Laws as the People should chuse) and instead*
 “ *of that another very useful one inserted, Saving*
 “ *the King’s Royal Prerogative.* After which he
 “ goes on and says, *I could tell you something more*
 “ *of that Kind done since at the Time of the CORO-*
 “ *NATION of the late King JAMES, when there*
 “ *was much more struck out of the Coronation Oath,*
 “ *which might be well worth the enquiring how it*
 “ *came about.* Now the former is nothing but
 “ an old Calumny reviv’d, which hath been to-
 “ tally refuted and disprov’d both by the said
 “ King himself in his Declaration, and in many
 “ other Writers.

Here he charges the Lord Chief Baron with
 calumniating Archbishop Laud in a Court of Ju-
 stice, and positively affirms that the Charge has
 been *totally refuted* and *disprov’d*: To the contrary
 of which I do as positively affirm, that it has not
 been at all *refuted* and *disprov’d*: But only deny’d
 by those that have deny’d every Thing laid to
 their Charge; they having but one way of *pro-*
ving, and that is by *Affertion*; and but one Way
 of *vindicating*, which is by *Denial*. He goes on:

“ But for the latter we have not had an Op-
 “ portunity to examine into the Bottom of it;
 as if he had always been very cautious how he af-

firm'd any Thing, and fully examin'd into it, as the King and Council did into the Affair of the Sheriffs, when they sent for 'em to throw 'em into Gaol for doing their Duty.

" I look upon it a design'd Aspersi^on by my
 " Lord Chief Baron upon Archbishop Sancroft;
 " only we may say thus much, that where a
 " known Falsity is join'd with a great Improbabi-
 " lity, the latter may as well be suppos'd a Mi-
 " stake, as the former is so without Doubt or
 " Question.

Here's Truth and Sincerity for you! The Fact of *Laud's* dealing thus with the Coronation Oath, is really without Doubt or Question; and one of the Proofs that it is so, is its being deny'd in the King's Declaration. The *Improbability* he talks of, is also downright *Fact*, as we shall shew presently. This he turns off with his usual grand Air, *We have not had Opportunity to examine into the Bottom*; and truly his Opportunities of that Kind, or his Disposition to make use of them, have been wanting to a Scandal. If he had but look'd into *Sandford's* Account of King *James* the Second's Coronation, he would have seen how the Oath was corrupted, and how it differs from the ancient one. I have them both before me.

The ancient Oath at the King *James* the Second's
 King's Coronation. Coronation Oath.

Sire, Voles vous gran-	Sir, Will you grant
ter & garder & per ue-	and keep, and by your
sire serement confirmer au	Oath confirm to the
Peuple Dengleterre les	People of <i>England</i> the
Leyes & les Costumes &	Laws and Customs to
eux grantes per les an-	them granted by the
cients Rois Dengleterre	Kings of <i>England</i> , your
vos Predecessors, droitus	Lawful and Religious

&

Pres

U

Et devotz a Dieu; Et no- Predecessors; and name-
mement les Loys, les Cu- ly, the Laws, Customs;
stumes, Et les Franchises and Franchises grant-
grantez au Clerge Et au ed to the Clergy by the
People par le glorieuse Glorious King St. Ed-
Roy St. Edward vestre ward, your Predeces-
Predecessor, for?

ADDED:

According to the Laws
of God, the true Professi-
on of the Gospel establish'd
in this Kingdom, and a-
greeing to the PRERO-
GATIVE of the Kings
thereof, &c.

What Opinion must the Reader have of our
Author's Candor and Judgment! What will he
see here but Misrepresentation, and a violent At-
tachment to the Bigotry of his two Archbishops?
I dare not palm Things upon the World for
Truths on my own Authority, and therefore shall
make use of a Paragraph or two out of the Se-
cond Volume of *State Tracts*, p. 94. The Wri-
ter is upon this Subject, Bishop *Sancroft's* alter-
ing the Oath for King *Jamas*. "They who ad-
"minister'd the Coronation-Oath to the late
"King, left out the Provision in the ancient
"Oath for the People's enjoying St. *Edward's*
"Laws; being only concern'd for the Church,
"according to what others have very lately de-
"clar'd. They us'd a special Clause, added to
"the old Coronation-Oath; by Virtue of which
"new Clause, the King is bound, not only to
"defend the Bishops and Churches under their
"Government, where they divide the National

“ Church into as many Cantons as there are Bi-
 “ shopricks ; but he is forsworn, if he does not
 “ preserve and maintain to them all Canonical
 “ Privileges : And if this be taken according to
 “ the former Part, where the King is oblig’d to
 “ maintain St. *Edward’s* Concessions to the Church,
 “ ’tis a Question how a *Protestant* King of this
 “ Realm could keep his Oath. That which gives
 “ Countenance to *Popish* Church-Privileges, is re-
 “ quir’d of a *Popish* King without any Reserve ;
 “ but the other which should secure Civil Rights,
 “ has a Salvo for *Prerogative*.

Archbishop *Sancroft*, from whom he wipes all
Asperion, was at the Head of the *Persecutions*
 in King *Charles* and King *James’s* Reigns, till
 he himself was *persecuted*. He was the chief Pro-
 moter of *Passive-Obedience*, till he thought con-
 venient to *resist* that King, and turn out his Go-
 vernor of the *Tower*. He fill’d the Churches with
 a Clergy, who stuck at nothing to advance the
 King’s and their own *Arbitrary Power*, and to
 ruin Protestant Dissenters : But being imprison’d
 for *Disobedience*, he became guilty of a more
 gross Act of Rebellion than ever was my Lord
Russel. He invited the Prince of *Orange* to make
 War against King *James* ; and himself in Person
 took the Keys of the *Tower* from King *James’s*
 Governor, as I just now hinted, and gave them
 to my Lord *Lucas*. But calling to mind what
 he had said and done for *Passive-Obedience* and
Non-Resistance, or being afraid the *Revolution* would
 not stand long upon its Legs, he refus’d to take
 the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, left
 his Bishoprick, and dy’d in Retirement ; more to
 be commended for his peaceable Behaviour there,
 than for deserting a Cause he had so vigorously and
 successfully espous’d.

I can-

I cannot enter upon his Account of Oates's Tryal without Horror. His justifying the diabolical Cruelty that unfortunate Man met with, is too shocking for Reflection. *A dismal and piteous Spectacle to the People!* His own Words; but then he sooths up the Matter; *who could much better judge of his Punishment, than his Crimes;* that is, who could see his gaping Wounds, and bear his hideous Bellowings, but could not be sensible how much he deserv'd them. Good God! What is the Religion, what the Humanity of the Country, where such bloody Acts of Tyranny could be done, and afterwards approv'd of by those very Men that should teach us Charity and Love! I must fly from the Horror it gives me, to the Laws and the Lords for Relief, and there I am sure to find it. Sir John Holt, Sir Henry Pollexfen, Lords Chief-Justices, the Lord Chief-Baron Atkins, and Six Judges more, being all that were then in the House, declar'd to that August Assembly, *That the Judgments against Titus Oates were contrary to Law and ancient Practice, and therefore erroneous, and ought to be revers'd.* But the Vote to reverse them not passing, a Protest was enter'd by several Noble Lords, one Article of which was,

“ That the said Judgments are barbarously in-
 “ human and unchristian; and that there's no
 “ Precedent to warrant the Punishment of Whip-
 “ ping, and committing to Prison for Life for
 “ the Crime of Perjury; which yet was but one
 “ Part of the Punishments that were inflicted
 “ upon him.

Sign'd,
 Bolton, Vaughan, Oxford,
 Macclesfield, Stamford, Bath,
 Bridgewater, Grey, R. Eure,
 Bolingbroke, Cornwallis, P. Wharton,
 Herbert,

Now

Now let the Reader turn to Mr. Echard: For my part I must leave him, and cannot go along with him at the Cart's Tail, and be a calm Spectator of those devilish Scourgings from Newgate to Tyburn. He says, there were Reasons and Provocations for the illegal Sentence against the Reverend Mr. Baxter; and then gives a List of Parliament-Men in the House of Commons, which met in the first Year of King James. We can't imagine how it came into the Author's Head to tell us, they were the Richest and Wisest Men of the Kingdom. Noobody had ever charg'd them with Want of Wisdom or Wealth.

Probably he had heard, that the last Westminster and Oxford Parliaments were said to be Gentlemen of the best Families, Interest, and Credit in England; and this House of Commons being for the most of his prevailing Party, he resolv'd they should not give way an Inch to the others that sat before them. However, since he will needs have us read over the List of the Rich and the Wise, let us see what he will make of it.

More Rich and Wise
For London. Members.

Sir John Moore.	Sir Roger L'Estrange.
Sir Peter Rich.	Sir Thomas Jenner.
Sir William Pritchard.	Mr. Theoph. Ogletborp.
Sir Sam. Dastwood.	Mr. Richard Graham.
	Dr. Charles D'Avenant.
For Cambridge Univer.	Mr. James St. Amand.
Sir Thomas Exton.	Sir Thomas Higgons.
Robert Brady, M. D.	Mr. John Walker.
	Sir James Butler.
For Oxford University.	Sir Robert Holmes.
Sir Leoline Jenkins.	Mr. Robert Foley.
Charles Perrot, L.L.D.	Sir Tho. Bludworth, &c.

Now

We

We had doubtless never heard of their Wisdom and Riches, if he had not been *captivated* with the Vote of the *Committee of Religion*, to address the King to *cause the Penal Laws to be put in Execution against Dissenters*. But, as well as he wish'd to it, the Vote did not pass, and he had not his Humour as he might have expected. *It must have prov'd fatal to them*, says he, upon Account of new Provocations. He means *Argyle's Expedition in Scotland*, to whom he joins all the Dissenters in England.

The Rebellions in *England and Scotland* being suppress'd, *Jefferies* and *Kirk* were sent into the *West*, to give fresh Instances of King *James's* revengeful and sanguinary Temper. For, the Reader must not mind what *Mr. Echard* copies from a French Jesuit. *His Majesty was inform'd of these Disorders too late; and as soon as it came to his Ears, he express'd his Displeasure*. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, on the same Occasion, writes thus: *What brought all Jefferies's Excesses to be imputed to the King, was, that the King had a particular Account of all his Proceedings writ to him every Day; and he took particular Pleasure to relate them in the Drawing-Room to Foreign Ministers, and at his Table, calling it Jefferies's Campaign; speaking of all he had done in a Stile that neither became the Majesty, nor the Mercifulness of a great Prince*. *Monsieur Dickvelt*, the Dutch Ambassador, told his Lordship, he wonder'd to see the King break out into these Indecencies. Quite contrary again to which and the Truth, *Echard* says, after the French Jesuit, he knew not of *Jefferies's Disorders till too late, and then express'd his Displeasure*.

We have spoken of *Mr. Cornish* in the preceding Pages: He was a zealous Man against *Papery*, and had given the Court Offence by his Zeal

as a Sheriff, and Alderman of London : Though he suffer'd upon wretched Evidence, as the Historian words it : *It is not*, continues he, *to be forgotten, what Encouragement he gave to such Sort of Evidence in the Popish Plot, and how active he appear'd in the shedding the Blood of the Popish Lord Stafford ; he now met with a full Retaliation ; God forgive what follows ! Perhaps more from Heaven, than from Men.* My Lord of Sarum informs us, " He was seiz'd on, try'd and executed within " the Week. If he had got a little Time, the " Falshood of the Evidence would have been " prov'd from *Rumsey's* former Deposition, which " appear'd so clearly soon after *Cornish's* Death, " that his Estate was restor'd to his Family, and " the Witnesses were lodg'd in remote Prisons " for their Lives. His Lordship then tells us, that *Pen* said to him, the King was hurried on by *Jefferies*. To this the Learned Prelate subjoins ; " If his own Inclination had not bialled that " way, and if his Priests had not thought it the " Interest of the Party to let that *Butcher* loose, " by which so many that were like to oppose " them were put out of the way ; it is not to be " imagin'd, that there would have been such a " Run of barbarous Cruelty, and that in so many Instances.

Here the Reader observes, that as low as the Term *Butcher* is, 'tis the only one proper to the Character of King *James's* Agents, and the Historian's Heroes.

The Character of this corrupt and cruel Judge, *Jefferies*, is too monstrous ; and I shall only observe, that by his Injustice, Cruelty and Corruption, he has render'd it so detestable, that there is not in History a Name so infamous as that of *Jefferies*.

After

After these and many other *Butcheries*, the Historian expatiates on the King's *Happy Condition*, in the *greatest Height of Splendor*, and *promising a firm and settled Felicity*. Are these the Sentiments of a Christian, a Protestant, and a Preacher? Could he be in a *Happy Condition*, who had so much innocent Blood to answer for? Or, under such Guilt, could he promise himself a firm and settled Felicity? The Historian has wasted all the Bolts of *Divine Vengeance* on the Assertors of *Liberty*, and has none to spare, when the Cry for it is so just and so loud. But, Thanks be to God, those dreadful Bolts are not in his Arm; and the Criminals whom he has clear'd, are the surest Marks for them.

In the Beginning of the Year 1686, the Historian tells us, "The King being now in Effect
" got to the highest of his Power, his Parlia-
" ment not sitting, his Standing-Forces increa-
" sing, and his Revenues sufficient to maintain
" them; he began more openly to shew his Re-
" solution of encouraging and establishing his
" own Religion, and to assume a more arbitrary
" Power. But he had been a bitter *Persecutor* of
Protestant Dissenters, by his Tools and Creatures;
and therefore the *Historian* will not let him all at
once, from an *Angel of Light*, be turn'd into a
Spirit of Darknes. The Excuse for him is, *He*
was hurried on more by the treacherous Advice of
others, than his own private Inclinations; which
he that said it does not believe, and so it needs no
Remark.

The next Year, the King declar'd in Council his Intention to give *Liberty of Conscience* to Dissenters. He made a Speech to them so *Specious and Plausible*, says Mr. Echard, that it met with no Opposition; *The Council was so fitted to the King's Will, or so blinded by Ambition and Interest.*

terest. You see how this *Toleration* has alter'd him on a sudden; and without that, I question not, both the King and *Jefferies* would have had his good Word to the last. He adds, the *Dissenters caught greedily at the Bait, without discerning the Hook*; a Reflection, which I my self, though no Dissenter, do know to be false in Fact.

I was at that Time with an Uncle in London, a *Presbyterian*, and one of the most eminent Merchants and Magistrates in the City; to whose Table came often the Chief Ministers of that and other Persuasions; and I very well remember, this *Toleration* was the Subject of frequent Discourse. The Substance of which was, that though they were satisfy'd with the Use of it, they doubted not of the King's ill Intent in it, to play *Protestant* against *Protestant*, that by weakening them, he might strengthen the Popish Interest. Mr. *Echard* has clear'd the *Dissenters* in the next Page, by a very long Quotation out of Dr. *Calamy's Baxter's Life*; though he will not name either the Doctor, or the Book: *As thankful as they were for this Ease and Liberty, they were yet fearful of the Issue.*

Bishop Burnet writes of it thus: "It was hop'd at Court, that this Fury against the Church, would have animated the *Dissenters* to turn up on the Clergy; but if a few did, they were disown'd by the wiser Men among them. The King made the Cruelty of the Church of England the common Subject of his Discourse: He reproach'd them with setting on so often a violent Persecution of the *Dissenters*; and said, he intended this Liberty sooner, but was restrain'd by some of them.

That

That many of the Dissenters thank'd the King in Addresses, and some in *Pathetick* Terms, must be confess'd; but the Bishop of *Salisbury* informs us, The Bishops that were gain'd by the Court, carried their Compliance to a shameless Pitch, for they set on Addresses of Thanks to the King, for the Promise he had made in the late Declaration of maintaining the Church of England, though it was visible that the Intent of that was to destroy it.

There being no more Persecutions going forward, the *Historian* and I shall agree better for the future; but it will be a hard Matter for him to forget the Glories and Triumphs of those happy Days, when all the Authority and Power of the Government were exercis'd against the innocent and patient Dissenters, when they were plunder'd, imprison'd, and driven from their dear Native Country, to the Desarts of *America*.

As I have taken Notice of him where he offends against *Charity* and Historical Truth, so I shall do the same when he speaks well of our present happy Constitution, or the Steps taken to recover it; and particularly when he sets about exposing the Imposture of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. The Stories and Reports about the miraculous Conception, increas'd the Suspicions of the Protestant Party, who began to recollect former Accounts of Cheats and Impostures. They heard that a like Deceit was attempted in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, when to relieve themselves from the Fears of a Protestant Princess, the Romish Priests gave out the Queen was with Child. The Remembrance of that former Fact gave now a natural Application.

Again, The Old Accounts of Impostures, join'd with the FABULOUS STORIES of the Cause of the Queen's Conception, after she had been several Years Childless; the great Care the Jesuits took to insinuate

that she would certainly be delivered of a Prince; and several other concurring Accidents, had a mighty Influence on the Minds of the Protestants, who began to look upon the whole as a Supposition.

His Account of the Birth afterwards, is a Confirmation of its being a Supposition, which is now more fully confirm'd by Bishop Burnet's History and Remarks. Indeed there's no Incident in Story, which carries with it so many Signs of Imposture; and it must be absurd to think otherwise, when of a Hundred Circumstances, there is not one without it.

So far from Partiality am I, that as often as I meet with any thing in this Author's History which agrees with good *English* Principles, and Truth, I am fond of repeating it, and always give him the Glory.

The noble Stand made by the Protestant Divines whom he names, *Tillotson, Tennyson, Stillingfleet, Wake, Sherlock*, is what we remember with the greatest Veneration and Gratitude; and we are not to learn from him that there are now, and always have been in our Church the most zealous and most able Champions of the Reformation: That our Divines have been, and are equally famous for their Piety, Learning, and Abilities; for their Charity, Humility and Pastoral Care; for their Courage and Constancy: the Reverend Bench of Bishops, and the Names only of the *London* Clergy, sufficiently prove this Assertion; and though Endeavours will be us'd to make this Work pass for a design'd Attempt against the Clergy, yet, as I have often done, I do now declare the Historian himself has not more Respect for his own *Gown and Habit*, to use his own Terms, than I have when worn by such Men as

he has nam'd, and I could name, were there Occasion of it. The Offence that has been given comes not from that Quarter. The Rural and Inferior Clergy have in all Times occasion'd the Complaint. The Illiterate, Ignorant and Immoral, Pragmatical and Persecuting Priesthood have only cry'd out, that the *Church was in Danger*, though she never was in any, but what they themselves brought her into by their Principles and Practices. As for Books for this Reign, there are enough to form a *Library*, or rather to make a *Bonfire*: Histories, Lives, Collections, Pamphlets, Gazettes, Mercuries, Intelligencers, Registers, Weekly and Daily Papers and Journals, &c. I cannot say there's any Regular History, and besides, the Facts are pretty much in Remembrance. These following will serve, 'till a History is given us form'd with Art and Judgment, and writ with Candour and Care.

Burnet's History.

Baxter's Life.

State Tracts.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Church History of England, from the Reformation to the Revolution.

I Have but a word or two to add upon this Subject, which is treated of occasionally with the other Events during this Period. For the Church and State have been inseparable, and much of the Disturbance which has happen'd to the latter,

ter, and much of the Action in the Four last Reigns have had Reference to the former.

'Tis the general Opinion of the common People of our Church, that there is no other Protestant Church in the World; but that all *Christendom* besides is made up of *Papists* and *Schismatics*. This is zealously inculcated by the Inferior Clergy, and I have the Charity to think many of them are so ignorant as to know no better, and to believe it.

Upon this Foot it is, that the Kirk of *Scotland*, the Churches of *Holland*, *Germany*, *Geneva*, *Switzerland*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Transylvania*, the *Hugonots*, &c. consisting of many Millions of Souls more than we have in *England*, are either entirely unknown to them, or abhorr'd, as in *Schism*.

Upon this Foot it is, that the Word *Orthodox* is monopoliz'd, and has Relation only to the *Christians* in *England*, who have the Benefit of the *Establishment*. By which *Establishment* the Clergy have many temporal *Emoluments*, which are made a Part of the *Church*, and consequently not to be separated without *Sacrilege*.

It is no wonder therefore, that there has been great Opposition to any *Schemes*, which would lessen those *Emoluments* either in Revenue, or Dignity. No wonder that Men, who have had these *Temporals* most at heart, have been jealous of losing them, and earnest in their Endeavour to maintain them; which has occasion'd those Rigors and Severities, that their Opponents call *Persecution*.

At other Times, when the Heads of the Church have been Men of Virtue and Temper, as it has frequently happen'd, they have treated Men of different Sentiments in indifferent Things as their *Protestant Brethren*; and to them have been

been owing those Intervals of Peace with which this Nation has been bless'd ; and to the others, all the Confusions, Tumults, Wars, Blood, and Devastation, which in several Periods have overwhelm'd it.

We have seen what a Farce was acted by King James the First at *Hampton-Court*, under Pretence of a Colloquy ; whereas his true Design was to shew his Affectation of Reading, and his Aversion to the *Puritans*.

I have all along avoided to enter into the Controversy between the Church of England and the Dissenters. I am my self satisfy'd in the Establishment ; and have neither Learning, nor Argument enough to satisfy the Dissenters. I regard Both, as they are Parts of the whole, as they are *Englishmen* and *Protestants* ; and have endeavour'd to distinguish those Events that have really been religious, from those that have been pretended only. Any Measures desig'd with Injustice and Cruelty, must be Pretences only to Religion ; such Archbishop *Whigist's* and *Bancroft's*, in King James the First's Reign ; such *Laud's*, *Wren's*, *Peirse's*, *Lyndsel's*, &c. in that of Charles the First ; such *Sheldon's*, *Morley's*, *Cosins's*, *Mew's*, *Ward's*, *Ken's*, such indeed the Measures of almost all the Dignify'd Clergy in King Charles the Second's Reign, till themselves began to feel the Weight of Despotick Power under his Brother, and were no sooner touch'd than they cry'd out, as they had very good Reason to do.

I have met with many that have asserted the *Infallibility* of our Church as much as ever the Pope's was, and with great Vehemence have pretended to prove its Perfection in every Article. Such Arguments cannot make much Impression, and so I have forgot them ; but I have lately read

what Archbishop *Leighton* thought of them. *Burns*
Hist. p. 389.

“ He was large in Point of Opinion, and spoke
 “ of the Corruption of the Secular Spirit, and
 “ of the Cruelty that appear’d in the Church with
 “ an extraordinary Concern. He lamented the
 “ shameful Advances that we seem’d to be ma-
 “ king towards Popery. He did this with a Ten-
 “ derness and an Edge, says *Bishop Burnet*, that
 “ I did not expect from so recluse and mortify’d
 “ a Man. He look’d on the State the Church of
 “ England was in with very melancholy Reflecti-
 “ ons, and was very uneasy at an Expression then
 “ very much used, *That it was the best constituti-
 “ on’d Church in the World.* He thought it was
 “ truly so with relation to the Doctrine, the
 “ Worship, and the main Part of our Govern-
 “ ment; but as to the Administration with rela-
 “ tion both to the Ecclesiastical Courts and the
 “ Pastoral Care, he look’d on it as one of the
 “ most corrupt he had ever seen. He thought
 “ we look’d like a fair Carcase of a Body with-
 “ out that Zeal, that Strictness of Life, and
 “ that Laboriousness in the Clergy that became
 “ us.

In the Times of Popery it self those odious
 Spiritual Courts were often complain’d of, as the
 greatest Grievance the People groan’d under; and
 indeed considering to whose Judgment, to whose
 Mercy, to whose Consciences and Humanity such
 as are prosecuted in them are referr’d; ’tis ama-
 zing there is still any Cause of such Complaint,
 or that Courts should preserve the Name of *Spi-
 ritual*, where the Ministers of them are so corrupt
 and vicious.

’Tis true, in the present Glorious Reign there
 is less Cause of Complaint in all the Branches of
 the Administration, than has been since the Re-
 formation.

formation. The watchful Care of the Government to prevent Oppression, and the Discountenance all Kinds of Persecution meet with, have given a Check to those vexatious and ruinous Processes, and one Time or other they may be no more heard of.

I shall conclude all with observing, That since the *Hierarchy* is in full Possession of all the Rights and Prerogatives of the *Establishment*; since the Dissenters are in as full Possession of the *Toleration*, which now also is by Law *establish'd*, I see no Reason on both Sides for Uneasiness and Murmurings, but much for Union and Thankfulness.

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A
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O F
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TO

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HISTORICAL

WHEREIN

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and so on is proved, (as the History of it
looks) that there is not a single fact in the
whole of which could be made to
appear in a more proper

The Author's Name, &c.

By the Author of the General History of
England, &c.

LONDON: Printed for J. DODD in
Westminster, 1757.



THE PREFACE.

Little thought, when I set about writing the *Critical History*, that I was entering upon a Controversy; if I had, I should have left the Work to Persons of greater Genius and Leisure. As I was sure of the Truth and Sincerity of the Design, how could one imagine that there was such a Creature, in being, who, with a bare Face, would set himself in Opposition to Both, and defend *Falseness and Arrogance* against them! I saw no Danger in telling plain Fact, and making fair Remarks upon it; and as my Intention

A 2

tion was only to put common Readers of *English* History in the right Road, out of which so many blind and false Guides were ready to turn them, I could not apprehend that so useful an Undertaking would have been liable to any Exception. I should have been pleas'd with good Observations, and decent Correction, had it been possible for a Man of the least Sense and Honour, to have encounter'd Fact and Truth. I should have treated him like a Gentleman, own'd, and amended all the Errors he had prov'd upon me, and been much oblig'd to him for whatever Instruction or Improvement I had got from him; but for such a Man as *Zachary Grey*, who falls upon me without either Conscience or Understanding, who is insensible of Modesty and good Manners; 'tis a sad Thing to have to do with him tho' but for once. I would not do it again were I to get as much *Fame* by it as Mr. *Echard* has got by his Histories. To argue with Men of Doctor *Grey's* Character, is as *Dryden* said of answering *Powel* the Player, and that is too filthy to be repeated. This Doctor, of whom I know little but by his Works, has nothing to risk in such Contests, and therefore he stakes boldly in Words; when the Game is against him he'll sneak off, and care not what People say of him. It can't well be worse with him than it is. I am ashamed of his Company, and will

The PREFACE. V

will get rid of it as fast as I can. I never so much as heard of him till he was in Print, and I did not think it worth while to enquire after him. They tell me, without it, there was a Man of his Two Names at *Cambridge*, but *neither his Parts nor his Family rendered him notable*: Another informs me, *there was a Tory or Jacobite Parson in Lincolnshire*, of his Christian and Sir-Name. All which agree exactly with the Stile and Sentiments of his Writings, They being both rude and seditious. I was *bit* when I undertook him, but I will not be bitten again by any such Doctors. They may scribble on, *Offend and Defend*, I'll be so far from answering, that I will read them no more; and thank my Stars, my Distance from them puts me out of the Reach of their Scandal and Insolence, their Libels not living long enough to travel Forty Leagues. I may say to them, what Bishop *Blackall* said to the Right Reverend and Learned the present Bishop of *Salisbury*, *I have no Leisure, and I will have no Leisure*, to enter into Debate with them. Those of them that know any Thing of good History, which God knows very few of them do, sin against Light, when they write against our *Parliamentary* Constitution in Church and State, and therefore don't deserve to be talk'd to: Those that are entirely ignorant, believe their Teachers implicitly, and are

incapable of Conviction; to these one would also have nothing to say. But if any well-dispos'd Reader has any Doubt or Scruple upon him, as to the Truth or Reason of any one Assertion in the *Critical History*, let him leave it with the Bookseller, and he shall have full Satisfaction. This Method I have taken on the like Occasions, and will continue it on this; such Answerers as Dr. Zachary being below either Cognizance or Contempt, and I'll deal with him no more in Form.

Before I leave this Subject, I must add a Word or Two, not to satisfy Dr. Grey, or any of that Herd, but in Compliance with the Desire of some Friends, who were willing to be referr'd more particularly to the Author and Page in my Quotations. I wrote a Letter concerning it some Months ago, and shall take out of it as follows. "I expect a Clamour will be made about my
 " omitting the Page sometimes, and sometimes the Author; for which I had more
 " Reasons than one. The first, and most
 " substantial, was, that I wrote the Book
 " in the Country, where I had not many
 " Helps, and that in less than *Seven Weeks*
 " Time, *tho' Dr. Zachary affirms I was*
 " *SEVEN YEARS* about it. The Authorities I made use of were from a *Common Place* of some hundreds of Sheets,
 " collected by my self out of some hundreds
 " of

The PREFACE. vii

“ of Authors in ten Years constant Reading,
“ wherein the Author's Name heads every
“ Article, but the particular Page is too of-
“ ten omitted. However, I propos'd no-
“ thing to my self in that Collection, but
“ to assist my Memory upon a vast Variety
“ of Subjects; and therefore it could not
“ enter into my Head to falsify the Text,
“ neither do I know of one Word or Sylla-
“ ble added or omitted in one Quotation,
“ out of many thousands. In the second
“ Place, if I had had Recourse again to the
“ Originals themselves, besides that I had
“ not Patience or Opportunity for so tedious
“ an Employment, I thought the Gainsayer
“ would surely make an ill Use of 'em, and
“ by falsifying and corrupting the Text, as
“ *Dr. Zachary has done*, to turn my own Ar-
“ tillery against me. Further, as I had ne-
“ ver a great Opinion of such Writers as the
“ Doctor, either as to their Honesty or Ca-
“ pacity, so I resolv'd not to direct them
“ to my Authorities, but to puzzle 'em,
“ and lay a Temptation in their Way to
“ assert boldly there are no such Authorities
“ at all. *The Doctor has fallen into the*
“ *Snare, and made eight or ten such false Af-*
“ *sertions, by which one may take Measure*
“ *of his Understanding and Conscience.*
“ Again, I certainly had as much Right
“ to abridge my Work, by omitting the
“ *Page, the Edition, &c.* as the Archdeacon
“ had.

"had I was *orator* in *Caria*, and had ne-
 "ver given Occasion by *Misrepresentations*,
 " *Prevarications*, *False Glosses*, and *False*
 " *Facts*, to render my self suspected. My
 " Word might be taken till I was convicted
 " of Offences, especially since Mr. *Eschard*,
 " after he had written the two wonderful
 " Reigns of King *James I.* and King *Charles I.*
 " demands the same Privilege in his last *Pre-*
 " *face*, wherein he doubts not his Readers
 " will have so good an Opinion of his Judg-
 " ment and Honesty, as not to expect every
 " Sentence to be supported by a particular Au-
 " thority.

The only Objection made by Dr. *Grey*, or
 some Body for him, which has in it the
 least Sign of *Sense* or *Discretion*, is a Re-
 mark on the Title of the *Critical History*,
 which that Author had often made before,
 as being too *presuming*. He never lik'd it
 himself, but he cou'd not think of any other
 which wou'd excite People's Curiosity, or
 express his Intention so well. Besides, as
 he wou'd have kept himself *incog*, if he
 cou'd, he might have pass'd on the Stage
 for a Critick, as well as *W——* for a Wit.
 If at any Time he *overbears* a little, it is
 when he fancies he is writing to such dull
 Mortals as our *Doctor*; he's always ready
 to submit to Men of Learning, Judgment,
 and Manners, but will by no Means truckle
 to Dr. *Zachary* or his Historian, who have
 both

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both insolently enough requir'd Homage from him as his Superiors. The same Submission do they demand for *Heylin, Nalson, Collier, Walker of Exon, Wagstaffe, Symons*, and others. Can there be a greater Affront than to roll a Man below themselves and such a String of Authors? How does he or his Historian know, but that the *Critical Historian's* House and Land had the same Boundaries, and the same Name for their Owner, 6 or 700 Years ago as they have now, to borrow from one of our merry Papers? If it should happen to be so, he will have a hard Matter to make good his Superiors, especially among such Lovers of Antiquity, as the Disciples of *Dugdale*, &c.

This modest good Man in his *Preface* upbraids the *Critical Historian* with being a *Common Hackney Writer*, which his *Historian* should, methinks, have rebuk'd him for; because the Market is as open for one Man as another; and his Friend has been a considerable Trader. The Author of the *Critical History* liv'd too far out of it to have any Gain in View: However, he thinks it no Disgrace to do what was done by *Mr. Addison*, and *Mr. Steele* before him, and what *Boileau* calls,

Tirer de son travail un tribut Legitime.

In this Case he had no Concern upon him, but the Publick Good; and the Reception his

X *The* PREFACE.

his Undertaking has met, is answerable to so generous a Design. Besides, it would have been a very bad Bargain for the Bookseller, when Dr. *Zachary* tells the World the Book is at the *Pastry Cooks*. I believe he is himself free from any such Censure, and cannot justly be charg'd with taking Money for his Copy.

Most Part of his excellent Preface is borrow'd from the Author whom he abuses, and so in every thing in him that but squints at *Witticism*.

He assures us, that *Brady* was no Party-Man, and that his Books sell like Bread. He couples him with Mr. *Echard* to make two *Valuable Historians*, Men of *Courage* and *Honesty*; Men of *Leisure*, *Abilities*, and *Integrity*; Men that did neither *Varnish* nor *Colour*: Whereas all the *Whig Authors* (see his *Preface*) wear Masks, and carry the Truth about in a Dark Lanthorn. He has an old Saw or two in the same admirable Piece, as the *Shoulders of Hercules*, and the *Augean Stable*, which are some of the Tools made use of by School-Boys; indeed he has hardly brought off a few Scraps of the Refuse of *College Wit*; and his Soil is so barren, 'tis incapable of Culture. Mr. *Echard* must needs reckon himself oblig'd to him for linking him with Dr. *Brady*; and I can never enough acknowledge my Obligations to him for not having given me one good Word,
which

The PREFACE. xi

which might have render'd me suspected to every honest and wise Man. As soon as I saw his Book advertis'd, I knew what a poor Creature he must be by the Title; there's scarce a Bookseller's Boy in *London* but cou'd have patch'd up a better for him. Every *Grub* cou'd have told him, that among them it had been long out of Fashion to call *Cavils* Frivolous, *Quotations* False, and *Inferences* Unjust, being all Words of Course, and all Writers whatever are *Pretenders* to all *Answerers* whatever. If he had had a Friend in the World, or if his Printer had had any Value for him, they wou'd not have suffer'd him to have put his noble Name to such a sorry Title-Page.

To have done with him *for now and for ever*, let the Faction have *Sophistry*, *Bigottry*, *Falshood*, and *Insolence* on their Side, it will be the Fault of those whom it concerns, if they have History, which bears every Word against them.

I met with a Paragraph lately in an *Occasional Paper*, N. 8. p. 13. which agrees exactly with Dr. *Zachary's* Morals, Manner, and Merit: "The late Debates among our Disputants have basely degenerated into Scolding. 'Tis an Observation in those at *Billingsgate*, that whoever first calls *Whore* or *Rogue*, has the worst Side of the Argument: So when Divines enter the Lists, 'tis a shrewd Sign who are the weakest, when

“ when Recourse is had to Slander and Ca-
 “ lumny. No Reason can be assigned why
 “ a Man's private Conduct or personal Cha-
 “ racter, should be brought into a Contro-
 “ versy, but either a politick View of taking
 “ away the Force of an Argument, by raising
 “ an ill Opinion of him, that urges it, or
 “ else to give Vent to Spight and Ill-nature,
 “ In either Case, 'tis a Conduct that speaks
 “ a Meanness of Spirit, and a little Soul.”
 The very Doctor himself, the very Original, and
 as like as if it was intended for him! “ But
 “ when, to serve either of these, a Man will
 “ forge, or utter, or be pleased with a LYE,
 “ only to render his Adversary infamous, this
 “ is *Villany* added to *Spite*. If therefore a
 “ Christian Man, thro' the powerful Influence
 “ of any bad Principle, has become guilty
 “ of flinging Dirt himself upon his Adversary's
 “ Character, or of lending Scandal to ano-
 “ ther, it becomes him, especially when
 “ *Falshood* aggravates the *Defamation*, to do
 “ what he can to wipe off the Scandal, and
 “ repair the Injury. To stand out in a *Lying*
 “ Story, &c. Whoever has a Mind to see
 more of this delicate and humane Manner of
 Writing, may find it p. 18. & seq. from the
 Pens of three famous *Doctors*, and all in In-
 jury to the Reputation of a pious and learned
 Prelate. Dr. Zachary Grey has all these ex-
 cellent Qualities; and tho' I doubt not the
 Archdeacon is as well qualify'd, yet to shew
 how

The PREFACE. XIII

how much I am in Peace with him, I lay this Picture before him, to assist him when he sets about considering the *Critical Historian*.

There is no Man can have a worse Opinion than I have of any Cause supported by Scurrility and Impudence. The most daring Fallities have been asserted by a Set of Men, whose Work it is, or ought to be, to teach Integrity and Truth. Too many of 'em are so low bred, that they have had nothing to refine 'em but a Charity Education, of which they make little other Use than to learn to insult their *Superiors*, and sometimes their very Patrons and Benefactors: I could give a pleasant Instance or two of this, but I avoid out of Respect to a great Number of worthy Men, who perhaps may be scandalized by it. Their lower Schools, lately very much cry'd up and preach'd up, are lamentable Lessons of this kind too, and Care is taken to poyson and corrupt Posterity to justify the Corruption and Infection of the present Age. I cannot well be charged with Indecency of Expression, considering the Provocation and the Subject. A Man of our Doctor's Forehead and Intellects is not to be treated with Smiles and soft Airs; and if I wanted no other Excuse, his own vile Example would be sufficient. He never saw or heard of the Author of the *Critical History*, yet he gives him the Lye in several Places, without the least Reason, treats him as a Blockhead and a Scoun-

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Scoundrel, and 'twill be very hard if that Historian should be censur'd for not standing with his Hat off to a Person who rather deserv'd a Drubbing than a Review. The Reader is desir'd to be merciful to such Faults as have escap'd the Press on Account of the Writers great Distance from it, and not like Dr. Grey, condemn him in a Harangue of two or three Pages, for a Printer's Boy's putting Of in a wrong Place; yet that is the most judicious, and the most honest Observation of his in the whole *Defence* of our Ancient and Modern Historians, from *Nennius* down to *Salmon*, many of whose Names are a Disgrace to all History.





A
R E V I E W
O F
Dr. Zachary Grey's
D E F E N C E, &c.



Shall imitate Dr. Grey in one Thing, and without any farther Ceremony than, Sir, Your most obliged humble Servant, come directly to his Book.

He tells you, p. 1. He has not many Exceptions to the Two first Chapters of the Critical History; in which there are more Criticisms than in all the rest. The Reason is plain enough. He does not understand them; if he did, I know by his Civility and Capacity, we should surely have heard of 'em. His

His first Quotation is so unfairly represented, that I might have call'd it something else if I would. He indeed makes use of the Word *Lies*, as well as the Thing; but I never had his Opportunities to improve in such Language. Page 2. *The whole Story of Brutus, and his Posterity, was without Doubt invented, and yet He (Crit. Hist.) tells us, That from his Posterity we may learn what Notions the ancient Britons had of the Rights of Prince and People, by the Actions attributed to them.* He leaves out what follows, and immediately makes this idle and unjust Inference; "So that notwithstanding the Story is a meer Fiction, yet when it can be wire-drawn to do Service to his darling and favourite Hypothesis, He will then be willing to adopt it into his History." My next Words, in the same Paragraph, which he has maliciously omitted, explain the Former: *The Moral of every Fable is as much a Lesson as if the Story had not been invented; what is said to have been done, if Good, ought to have been done; and, on the contrary, what is Bad, to be avoided.* He misquotes me in the same Page: *The Britons set aside Andro-gas purely on Account of his being in the Interest of the Invaders, viz. the Romans;* which later Words are not mine; and there being a Meaning in them, I am inclined to think they are not his own, but Somebody's else. *The Romans* are there added, to insinuate that our Invaders, the modern Romans, only come to bring us the Right Heir, and that there's nothing, as He says, in the History that favours of the People's Right to set aside their King, notwithstanding Sammes, in his *Britannia*, informs us, how well he deserved it, as being *Cæsar's* great Instrument, in giving him Light in many Things that conduced to the Ruin of his Country. These are the Princes for whom our Law-Doctor is an Advocate. I shall avoid as much as I can to bully

bully him with the *Constitution*, tho' such Men as He insult others with the *Church*; and tho' nothing in the World can be plainer than that the whole Bent of their Works and Writings is to promote Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny, in Complacency to the Pretender and his Religion.

Page 5. 8. He labours to prove, that *Vortigern*, King of the Britons, was not deposed, but only gave up to his Son *Vortimer*. We have no Account of his Deposition. Twice does He assure us of this Falsity, and accuses me of *Misrepresentation*: And twice was the same King deposed, tho' He so positively affirms the contrary. Dr. Hody uses the very Word, *Cono. p. 15.* and *Matt. Westm.* speaking of the Council that deposed him, tells us, they chose *Aurelius Ambrosius* King. *Aurelium in Regem Eregerunt.* *Sammes* says of his former Deposition, The Council bereav'd Him of his Power and Dignity, and placed *Vortimer* in his Stead.

In the Introduction to the first Volume of Mr. Tyrrel's History of England, are these Words, which I am now writing out of it: *There being not above two Kings in all this long Series of more than two hundred and sixty Years, concerning whom I have not brought express Testimonies from Authors of undoubted Credit, both in Print and Manuscript, of their Election by the States of the Kingdom.* The Doctor quotes this very Introduction himself, p. 56, and yet asserts very confidently, there are no such Words in it, p. 6. What can one make of such a Man as this!

Page 9. He mentions two most reverend and worthy Prelates of our Church, and one especially, my Lord's Grace of *Canterbury*, who has confirm'd what I have said of the Being of Parliaments, in the Quotation Dr. Grey brings against it: *That King Alfred appointed Parliaments, says his Grace, to meet twice a Year, is I confess in the*

Mirror of Justice; and that's all I pretended to in that Place. The *Mirror of Justice* was written not long after *Brady's* pretended first Parliament, and the Author must needs know whether there were such Assemblies in the Saxon Times much better than those Writers who have since controverted it. Sir Henry Spelman, speaking of the same King *Alfred*, seems to give a Reason for the Discontinuance of those Conventions for some Time, on Account of the Ravages of the Danes.

From whence does this appear? cries Dr. *Zachary Grey*, p. 10. not from any other Authority than his own bare Assertion; tho' I quoted the *Mirror of Justice*, as mentioning Parliaments twice a Year in King *Alfred's* Reign, and tho' my Lord of *Canterbury* confesses it is so in that Book, which is in good Reputation among the best Lawyers; yet Dr. *Zachary* boldly affirms, it was never said by any one but my self. As notoriously false as this is, He proceeds in the Abundance of his Modesty. How far he is to be credited I leave to the Reader to judge.

What my Lord of *Canterbury*, in the beforementioned Citation, seems to intend, is, of what Persons the Saxon Parliaments consisted. I know very well they have different Apellations, and did not always consist of the same Degrees. Sometimes the Superior Clergy and the Barons, and not always the same Barons: Sometimes the Superior and Inferior Clergy, the Barons, Eldermen, and Wisemen: Sometimes the Prime Bishops and Prime Men, *Episcopi & Optimates*: Sometimes the *Communitas*, the *Populus*, when all were represented. The Doctor, from Page 11, to Page 50, takes a great deal of Pains to prove that the Great Councils were not called Parliaments, nor were always composed of the same Orders; for which I never contended, but that all Orders were represented

Dr. Grey's Defence, &c.

sented at one Time or another, and sometimes altogether, as explained in this Monkish Verse, translated by my Dear Self, to use his own Dear Words, tho' he vouches for me, that I do not understand a Word of Latin.

Prelati, Proceres, missisque Potentibus Urbes:

i. e.

The Prelates, Peers, the Cities by their Powers.

And when he turns an old Monkish Latin Verse into so good an English one, I'll own he is not the Man I took him for, but *erit mihi magnus, &c.*

Page 10. Sir Henry Spelman, 'tis granted was a very learned, and a very valuable Man; so he was, but not always right as to the Saxon Constitution of Parliaments. I quoted his Glossary only as to the Word Parliament, and not as to the Thing. Spelman's, "*Wittenagemot idem apud Anglo Saxones fuit quod apud nos hodie Parliamentum est:*" The "*Wittenagemot* was the very same Thing among the Saxons, as the Parliament is now a Days with us;" and every one knows what King, Bishops, Lords, and Commons in Session make. Let who will reconcile his other Citations out of Spelman to his Glossary, as quoted above; I shall content my self with the Light he has given us, and what Dr. Hody takes from him, *That the Council of Kingsbury is to be esteemed not an Episcopal Synod, but a Parliament, p. 57, four hundred Years before Brady owns any such Thing; and in another Place, they met not only Consultare sed Statuere.*

The Reader will excuse me if I add a little up-
on this Subject, it being no less important
than the Foundation of our Constitution and Li-
berty. He will also observe with what a Fore-
head this Doctor of ours asserts, that the Law

for Saxon Parliaments, was a bare Assertion of my own. Not only that old Law Book, the *Mirror of Justice*, but a modern Author of a Treatise, called, *An Inquiry, &c.* printed in 1693, tells us, 'Tis most manifest, besides the positive Laws for Yearly Parliaments, that by the ancient Constitution of our Government, they did meet of Course at least twice every Year. Another Writer, in a Treatise called, *The Claims of the People of England*, has these Words, p. 8. " 'Twas indeed an old Custom for the Parliament to meet every Year on a Day certain, as on the first of May, and at a certain Place; which Custom was interrupted by Reason of Wars in the Land, which would not suffer the King to meet his People at the usual Time and Place." All which he says positively was my own bare Assertion.

I took Notice in the *Crit. Hist.* that I was not afraid of Authorities, when I had Truth on my Side; and tho' I pay as great Veneration to the Memory and Merit of Sir H. Spelman, as any one, yet I know if the Dispute had been between *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, how it would have fared with the latter by his Determination. Dr. Grey cites out of him: He never found any Place for the Commons in these great Councils, in the Saxon Times, p. 11. What then is meant by *Rex Populum Suum convocavit*, in the Laws of King Ethelbert? What by *Principum Procerum, Comitum & Omnium Sapientum Seniorum & POPULORUM totius Regni*, in King Ina's Reign? When Dr. Hody attacks this ancient Author's Authority, 'tis with Reference to the Intermarriages of the Saxons and Britains then, and not to the *Populorum*, which he takes particular Notice of, p. 33. How must we understand the *Populo Terræ*, in the Council held by King Oswald, Anno 787? How the *Omnium Dignitatum Optimatibus Ecclesiasticarum Scil, & secularium Personarum*? All Degrees

grees of the Nobles: I turn it thus; for that is a Term, which in the States of France took in others besides the Dukes, Counts, Earls and Barons. This is said of the Council of Clouesho. What is meant by *Comitum Procerum totius Terræ Aliarumque Fidelium infinita Multitudine*; an infinite Multitude in the Assembly at Winchester, Anno 855? What by *POPULORUM & Senatorum Gentis Anglorum*, in King Alfred's Council? What even by *Villani*, after the *Comites* in the Council of London, in King Athelstan's Reign, about the Year 930? What by *Tota Regni INGENUITATE & innumera POPULI Multitudine*, in King Edgar's third Council, about the Year 970? How is *Universa Gens*, in the Confessor's Parliament, Anno 1053, to be understood? How *Rege Baronibus, & Populo*? and how *Communitas Angliæ*, in the same Reign, *Vide Hod. p. 113, &c.*? I have said more on this Subject in the *Crit. Hist.* I can see plainly enough, that neither this our Doctor, nor his Assistants, are or would be acquainted with it: For the Truth is entirely on the Side of the Constitution which they endeavour to subvert. I could write Volumes upon it, were there Occasion, which there is not; *Petir* and *Tyrrel* routed *Brady* long ago; and this Doctor is one of the poorest Dabblers that has come after Him. He makes a great Stir about the *Sapientes Aldermanni*, and the like *Wise-men* and *Eldermen*, in the Saxon Parliaments. Let the Terms be understood how you will; call those Assemblies, *Wittenagemots*, *Myebelgemots*, *Councils*, *Colloquies*, what you please, I think enough is said to prove, that the *Commons* assisted at those Assemblies, and that there were such Assemblies in the Saxon Times, many hundred Years before *Brady* allowed it.

Did I not say, *Crit. Hist.* p. 34. No Matter whether the States of the Realm were term'd a Council or a Parliament; those Conventions in Poland are a Dyer, in Spain a Cortes, in Holland an Assembly, in England a Parliament. The Doctor has so much Stupidity, or something worse, in the Make of him, that he cou'd not discern between Words and Things: But the very Word *Parliament* was us'd before *Brady* says there was such a Thing in Being. *Annals of Burton*, A. D. 1258. *An Loquantur in PARLIMENTIS nisi Sanctu & Honestu*, which shews there had been several Parliaments at that Time and before, and that the Term was well known. Under the Word *Wittenagemot* in *Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary*, he tells us, it is our Parliament. In the Description of those Saxon Assemblies quoted by *Dr. Grey*, he looks otherwise; but what says *Dr. Hody*, p. 123. I pass'd by the Description of *Wittenagemot*, which *Sir Henry Spelman* and *Mr. Camden* have given us, their Judgments being no Arguments in this Matter. I affect'd to mention their Names, because I shall have Occasion in my second Volume to speak of the latter's Tenderness to Popery and Monkery; and where that Disposition goes, there will not want Reflections upon our Protestant Constitution, spiritual and Temporal. These are great Names, and worthy Respect; but the Publick Good is much more respectable.

My Words, p. 30. are the same he quotes; *Canute was made King, ab omni Anglorum Populo*. Against this he brings the worthy *Dr. Hody*, p. 23. King *Ethelred* being dead, the Bishops, Abbots, and *Proceres Terræ*, rejected his Family, and proclaim'd *Canute* for their King. Præthee, Reader, mark what a clear-headed Doctor this is? He quotes afterwards on the same Occasion, in *Re-*

gem elegere, Caputum elegere, the Election of King Canute out of other ancient Authors mention'd by the Greek Professor, as to the Election, that is the *Revolutional Right*, in Cases of extreme Necessity, such as that was; and what more have I pretend'd? What can be stronger than Dr. Hady's saying out of *Higden*, the Convention rejected the Hereditary Family, and proclaimed Canute? If he had any Meaning in him, his *frivolous* Cavil here, is on the Score of *Omni Populo Anglorum*; and he's with great Gravity and Sagacity endeavouring to prove, that all the People of England, Men, Women and Children, did not meet on *Salisbury Plain* to chuse King Canute. There is no need of turning to *Glossaries* to know what is every where to be understood by *Populus Anglia*, their Representative, The *Populi Romani* were not all the Tribes assembled in the Field of *Mars*, but the Senate and the Ruling Powers. If I had said at *Rome*, 37 Years ago, the People of England have made the Prince of Orange King, would not every Body have understood it to be the Convention? What a Drudgery is it to have any thing to do with such a Mortal!

As to his deep Learning about Lord Coke's Parliament, p. 23. let him have the Glory to repeat what others have said of it as a *Fiction*, but I will also repeat what I said my self before him; allowing the *Fiction* against the Authority of my Lord Coke: It shews that the Constitution, and the very Word *Parliament*, were known a hundred Years before *Brady* will have it that the latter had a Name or Being. The Author of that Fable liv'd, says *Hady*, 130 Years after the Year 1020, when Canute's Parliament, as describ'd by Lord Coke, is suppos'd to sit: Consequently the Term was then known, and with the Term the Thing, Anno 1150, or thereabouts, which is 115 Years before *Brady's* first Parliament. This was all the Use I made of

it, had enough for the L. L. D. and the M. D. his best Authority. *Proceed we to consider what he offers after the Conquest.* I knew what he was, and of what he was capable, by his *Proceed-wa's*, and other Expressions, which, as I said, and he after me, *smell of the Cask.* He begins his *Norman History* with acknowledging that I am a *sly Fellow*; I can't say so by him; but I shall prove very often that he is a *bad Fellow*, which is all one in the *Initial.* My *Shines* consists in leaving out the Word *Proceribus*; How did I know what was meant by it according to his Account of the *Latin* I have! How could I know whether there was any Harm in putting of it in, or leaving of it out! However, I will in this Place acknowledge I did understand what was the *English* of *Proceres*, and that it was *Cousin German* to *Optimates*, and never pretended that the *Saxon Parliaments* were in all Sessions composed of Members of the same Degrees; but that at Times, and according to the Urgency of Affairs, and the Proofs I have given of it, all Degrees did sit. What I intended here, was the *Elegere* mentioned by himself, the *Consent* of the *English*, mention'd by *William of Poitoun*; the *Presence* of all the *People* of *England*, mention'd by *Vitalis*; the *Election*, mention'd by *Gemetisensis*; the *cum Favore Procerum ac Nobilium*, in the Register of *Bavile Abbey*; and the Oath *Coram clero ac Populo*, out of *Florence* of *Worcester*. It appears now that I left out *Populo* as well as *Proceribus*; and so I might; for I did not intend to tell by whom he was elected, but that there was a *Convention* and an *Election*.

In the next Page, he charges me with falsifying the learned *Greek Professor*, whom I quoted, for saying, *Conventio quorum videtur esse Parliamentum*; he adds, *Hody says no such Thing.* My Words the

direct

direct contrary. *Hody* speaks of a *Parliament*, Anno 1077, and of a *Charter*, in which were these Words, *Conventio*, &c. Here's a good Man for you; and here he is again. *Hody* has these very Words, speaking of that *Charter*, *I agree with the Writer, that it was a Parliament*, p. 157. Is he to be match'd, d'ye think, for a fine Head and an honest Heart? I desir'd no more of the Doctor; I did not care whether the *Charter* was of no better Authority than King *Lucius's* to the *Arch-Flamens* and *Flamens*, made by him *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, about certain Lands in *Hampshire*. Dr. *Hody* foresaw that the *Charter* would fall into some foolish Hand or other, who wou'd abuse the Quotation, and therefore he added, *I agree, &c.* That *Parliament* was a hundred Years before *Brady's Era*.

The next Quotation he takes from me, is concerning *William Rufus's* Succession, when his elder Brother *Robert Duke of Normandy* was alive. Dr. *Zachary* affirms with the last Assurance, "*William Rufus* came in by a different Claim than that of "*Election*, p. 27. as by *Conquest*, p. 28." *Gervase of Tilbury*, and after him Dr. *Hody*, assures us, on the contrary, he was ELECTED King, p. 174. The Reader will find he is no Changling in this Point: He stands Buff by the *Hereditary Right*, as long as there is a Reign which makes against it; if I fall in my Stile, 'tis to suit it to his Company.

I say, in the Reign of *Henry I.* he was made King *Univerſo Populo*; so says he; but being an excellent Linguist, he translates *all the People*, the *Clergy* and *Nobility* only. I doubt he is not over literal in it, because *Knighten* tells us, the *Convention* who chose him, consisted of the *Whole Community of the Kingdom*; Distinguishing, says *Hody*, the *Community* there present from the *Barons*, p. 184. As long as he came not in by the lineal unalienable Descent, as established by the *Oxford Decree*,

'tis all one to me who elected him; but that he was chosen King, appears as well by his Brother Robert's being alive still, as by what we read in History.

We are not yet come to a *Jure Divino* Reign; however, he will enter his Protest against any other Reign, and go on gainsaying. Gervase of Tilbury writes, that King Stephen was crown'd *Convocatis Episcopis & Proceribus, & Wikes annuentibus Presulibus & Proceribus Regni*, which this Rantist translates thus, *It is evident he was set up and crown'd by a Faction*; the Term which all good Subjects have gone by ever since the Revolution. This Faction consisted of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; not only they, but the King himself has the Lye given him by our Doctor, p. 32. He was chosen by a *Faction*, tho' he says it was by the *Clergy and Laity*. He then tells us what we must understand by the *Clergy and Laity*, the *Nobility*; because there was then no *Knights of the Shire*, nor *Freeholders*. After this he goes back to King Henry I.'s Reign, and falls upon me for saying, "In a Manuscript in the Cotton Library, it is said, (A. D. 1116.) the King call'd a Council of all the States of the Realm, both of the *Prelates*, *Nobility*, and *Commons*:" But he says, *He's unwilling to take my Word*. I am sure I will neither take his Word, nor his Bond; and I'm satisfy'd no Body will be bound for him. Dr. Hody directs to the MS. *Cott. Lib. Titus A. 13.* and upon this Occasion the learned Professor has this Passage, "Sir Henry Spelman is as much mistaken on the other Side; for he denies that the *Commonalty* were there present, or that any of the known *Historians*, either of that Age or any other, say they were; but to confute that Assertion, let us hear *William of Malmsbury*, who liv'd even at that Time; *Ei vivit dum 12 Annorum esset, Omnes*

"nes LIBERI HOMINES, Anglia & Normannia
 "CUJUSCUNQUE ORDINIS ET DIGNITA-
 "TIS, CUJUSCUNQUE DOMINI FIDELES
 "manibus, & sacramento se dedere coacti sunt."

The Commons were no ways concern'd in this Meeting. To this let old *Brompton* reply: *Past* had *PARLIAMENTUM* suum apud *Sarisberiam* convocavit. There's the Word *Parliament* again 150 Years before *Brady* owns there was any such Assembly. *Walter* of *Hemingford* has the same Account: *Rex tenuit PARLIAMENTUM* suum apud *Sarisberiam*. Dr. *Hody* upon this, p. 198. Some mention an ancient MS: (Ap. *Spelman*, L. c.) in which it is expressly said, That the COMMONS were then summon'd. What follows, is to shew the cautious Reader to be upon his Guard: Let the Enemies to our Constitution bring what Names they will to vouch for them, p. 199, the learned Professor adds; "Here Sir *Henry Spelman* is again mistaken, when he thinks there was no consulting in the Convention, who only did Homage to the Prince; for the Historians of the same Age assure us, that the Cause between *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York*, was there debated; *Endmer*, *Florence*, *Brompton*, and *Hemingford*, confirm this; and *Hoveden* mentions that Cause only without the Swearing."

Page 33. He has an Interrogatory for me. I said *Henry II.* was a *Principibus vocatus & a Populo desiaeratus*. What doth all this amount to? Not to a Proof of the King's being chose by the People. He's surprisingly dull. Yes, it does amount to such a Proof, *Vocatus* here can have no other Signification: His Mother the Empress *Maud* being alive, in whom was the Hereditary Right; tho' the Doctor, p. 24. says boldly and falsely, it was in himself, which it cou'd not be, till after his Mother's Death.

Death. Dr. Grey tells us *Vocatus* should be *invited*, and I tell him it shou'd be *call'd*, and that *call'd*, *invited*, and *elected*, are all one in this Case. The Prince of Orange was *invited* over by several Bishops and others; for which they would have been Rebels, if he had not been made King.

Page 34. he rebukes me for saying after *Gervase*, that there were *Inferioris Ordinis Personæ* in the Parliament at Northampton. In another Place, *Gervase* says, there were *Innumera Multitudo Plebis* at his Coronation Council; and that they were not all unconcerned Spectators. One may learn by what the Greek Professor informs us, p. 216. that *PLEBS* is sometimes used for *POPULUS* in general; and even for the Commons of England sitting in Parliament; which seems to be the most likely Interpretation, for that we have already given so many Proofs of their having a Seat there.

In the following Page he falls upon me with his usual Ribaldry and Insolence, and as if he had been *Some Body*, pretends to chastise me for animadverting upon his wonderful Historian Dr. Brady. I will not answer him; I do not think either his *Doctor's Reputation*, as he calls it, or his Own deserve it; but I will confirm what I said of the Parliament of Clarendon, that by *Proceres Regni* must be understood the Chief of the Commonalty, "since the *Earls* and *Barons* at that Time were the Nobility, and are particularly mention'd." As poor as he is in Intellect, he was cunning enough not to encounter such plain Sense as this. *Hoveden* tells us, the Clergy and Laity were gather'd together there. *Matthew Paris* mentions the Clergy, Counts, Barons, and *Proceres Regni*; which Dr. Hody, p. 221. translates the Chief of the Commonalty. Another ancient Writer informs us, the King call'd together *Regnum Universum*. Let the best Criticks they have cull the Commonalty out of them

if

if they can. But, as I have often observ'd, the Practice of *Saxon* Times is sufficient Proof that the *Commons* are every where to be understood when there's the least Colour for it; and whoever has a Mind to see more of the *Parliament of Clarendon*, may have full Satisfaction as to the *Commonalty* in *Dr. Hody, Cou. & Conv. p. 220. & seq.* I shou'd rake Notice of his awkward Raillery, in his *Profound Author, Learned Author, Considerable Author*, and such like Stuff; but the Truth is, I am ashamed to have any thing at all to say of him, and would shake him off as fast as I cou'd, as a Scurrilous, Impertinent, *I don't know what*, nor ever desire to know: He is so silly, that I wou'd pity him, were it not for his Forehead.

I say, the Archbishops, &c. *cum Clero & Populo*, sat at Table at King *Richard's Coronation Feast*. *What doth this prove?* quoth he again! He knows not, I verily believe. Why, it only proves that the *People* were a Part of the Company, what the Reader will see, tho' he can't; and I wish I cou'd tell the One something more, which I wou'd leave the Other in Ignorance of; and that is, this same Company was a *Convention or Parliament*. I doubt not he will stare like a Man frightened. But let us turn to my old Friend *Dr. Hody*, and he will find, *p. 216.* these Words, *The Coronation Conventions were in those Days the same with the Great Councils*; and what they were, has been already explain'd.

I slip over his Defence of the Religion and Morals of the Fryars and Nuns of those Days, *p. 41.* for I believe there's hardly a Creature that can say its Catechism but knows enough of that Matter.

Page 44. *Dr. Grey*, who, like your Scolds, seems to insist upon having the last Word, says again, *It is evident how far our Author is mistaken in his Opinion*

Opinion of the Right of the Commons to sit in Parliament. This is one of the Sayings that execute themselves. God be thank'd, the Commons of England in Parliament assembled know their Right, its Antiquity and Extent, much better than all the Doctors and Criticks in the Two famous Universities, or the Cities of *Lond.* and *Westm.* can tell them; and it was not for such Readers that I wrote. What Sort of People it must be for whom Dr. Zachary writes, the Lord knows; one cannot without conjuring conceive it. My Intention was to put ordinary Readers, Persons whose Capacity and Reading were but a little above Dr. Grey's Size, into a Way, that when they read, they might not be misled by such Authors as *Brady, Heylin, Hicks, Collier, Nalson, Wharton, A. Wood, Dugdale, Heath,* and *L'Estrange*, &c. not to mention here any more of 'em, nor yet to forget the *Grand Rebellion*, and the *Archdeacon's History*.

Page 45. Another Interrogatory is started; to which I am to give in my Answer, and it shall be upon Oath, if that would do. I doubt not our Doctor would swear to his whole Book. In *Crit. Hist.* Page 37. I said the King of Scotland did Homage to King John, at the *Famous Parliament of Lincoln*, in *Conspectu Omnis Populi*: Upon which he demands, *What if King John and the King of Scotland met upon Top of a Hill?* Why then they met upon Top of a Hill: I was not about proving in what Street, Church, or House of *Lincoln* they assembled; but I said the People were with the *Parliament*, as they had been several Times before, and have prov'd what they did there. The *Populi* above is taken out of *Brompton*, and means the Rabble no more than *Parliament*, which the same Author *Brompton* makes use of on this very Occasion; *PARLIAMENTUM suum usq; Lincolniam convocaverat*; and *Hody* shews us what
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an Historian his Dr. Brady is, by a Passage on the same Subject, which he flurs over, *Crit. Hist.* p. 38. He does the same by all that had been said there about the Rights of the Commons, to the Year 1248; when he assures us, Dr. Brady owned there was a Parliament, and tells us what he says, in which there is not a Word of it: But he refers to a *Marginal Note*, where it is expressly said. And Mr. Echard Himself affirms, that Dr. Brady was of Opinion there was no Parliament before the Year 1265; to which Knights, Citizens and Burgesses were admitted. What were the *Milites & Libere tenentes*, in the Parliament of Winchester, Anno 1215, Fifty Years before? What the *Urbes missis Potentibus*, three or four hundred Years before Brady's 1265. Anno 1216. There was a Writ to choose four *Discreet Knights* for the Shires: And before that, Anno 1205, The learned *Greek* Professor tells us, *It is certain the Commons of England voted in this Parliament*, p. 268. I have said so much Here, because, contrary to Custom, he is so mild as to say only, 'Tis a *Mistake*; not *Lye*, nor *Carol*, nor *unjust*, nor *false*, as he is used to do, and which I suppose is more natural to Him. Mistakes I am ready to acknowledge and correct. He says Brady owns a Parliament before 1265. If he had owned one five hundred Years before, he had been righter still; but the Archdeacon carries him on to the 49th of Henry the IIIrd, the *Critical and Rebellious Year*, to use Mr. Echard's Words, p. 124. to which our present Constitution owes its Foundation. I told you he could not act the Gentleman much longer, that his foul Mouth would open again, and we should be obliged to hold our Notes. "I doubt not, *quo this*
 " *Fine Doctor of ours*, the Reader has conceived
 " a just Idea of his *Honesty and Judgment*; for ne-
 " ver did Mortal before *falsify, mistake, or misap-*
 " *ply*

“ply Facts so much as He has.” What is to be done with such a Man as this? Is He not a Person of Sense and Integrity, after what we have seen of him in the preceding Pages? and we have much more still to see of Him. All His Billingsgate was for my saying only, p. 47. That the Parliament of Westminster consisted of *Magnates omnes, & Communitas Populi*. 'Tis for This that such a Flux of Ribaldry has driveld from Him. He insinuates, that I make *Matthew of Westminster* say so, when I only add, *Matthew of Westminster* styles it *Parliamentum Magnum*; which he Himself acknowledges. I did not say he said of whom it consisted, but that the Word *Parliament* was then used by *M. West*. I did not represent it so, nor is it so in his Quotation from the *Crit. Hist.* *Five Tears after a Parliament was holden at Westminster, in a most solemn Manner, consisting of Omnes Magnates & Communitas Populi.* *Matt. Westminster* styles it *Parliamentum Magnum*; And yet we have several Tears to come before Brady, &c. Have I fathered the least Thing here upon *Matt. West*. but the *Parliamentum Magnum*. The *Magnates & Communitas* may be seen in Mr. Peir, of the *Rights of the Commons*, speaking of a Subsidy per *Magnates & Communitatem Regni*, 32 Hen. III. p. 34, 35. I am sure of nothing so much as that the Reader would excuse me, if I flung his Libel after Trapp's *Virgil*, into the Place where Dr. Swift saw it in one of his *Meditations*. But, for the Satisfaction of Friends, I'll for this once go through with him, having taken a Resolution never to be bit again, nor have to do with him or his Fellows. If I am a little angry, the Lye that he has here given me, is sufficient Provocation; and I expect more such Treatment from his good Sense and good Manners. How might I have us'd him, had he been worth it, for saying

ing Brady never *disguis'd or colour'd Facts*, p. 36. that his Vouchers are the best imaginable; of whom Dr. Hody says, *Conv.* p. 372. One or two Things I shall add to confute Dr. Brady; and again, *His Assertion appears to be false, &c.* I refer to the Author for the rest: It proves there were *Burgesses in Parliament*, when Brady very boldly asserts there were not; which Falsity he was charg'd with in the *Crit. Hist.*

Page 50. He makes me guilty of a Mistake, for saying the first Statute of *Mortmain* pass'd in Edward I.'s Reign. Mr. Fox in his *Acts and Monuments*, from whom I took much relating to the Clergy, himself being a Divine, and a very religious One, says, p. 443. Vol. I. in the Reign of King Edward I. *Within two Years after the Statute of Mortmain was first enacted; which is as much as to say, that no Man shou'd give unto the Church any Lands or Rents, without a special Licence from the King.*

His next Quotation is about my calling the Bishop of *Chester* William Langton, whom Mr. Echard, says Dr. Zachary, calls *Walter Langton*; Bishop Godwin stiles him *Walter de Langton*: So that we all differ in a Matter of this Importance. He adds, He was not Bishop of *Chester*, but Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield*. This is an amazing Instance of his profound Learning! The Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield* was then Bishop of *Chester*, and so continued till the Reformation, if we may in any Thing give Credit to *Peter Heylin's Help to Hist.* p. 192. "*Chester* was anciently in the Diocese of *Litchfield*, one of the Bishops of which Church removing his See to *Chester*, A.D. 1075. as the more remarkable and noted Place, occasioned that his Successors were many Times called Bishops of *Chester*."

As to what he says against *Hollingshead*, let him run away with it if he will; neither he nor his *Cronies* know why *Hollingshead* is valuable: It is not for his *Stile*, tho' better than his own; nor for his *Method*, as regular as some late *Historians*. What it is for, let 'em find out, when their *Eyes* and their *Understandings* are better.

Proceed we; the *Brogue* again! you may see how we came by him: Our Author has borrow'd his Account of King *Lucius* from Sir *Henry Spelman*, which is at once directly false. I took every Word of it from *Sammes Britannia*, *Lucius* being a *British King*. *Sammes* has a Folio Page (263.) on the Subject, and I matter not from whom he took it; only I must observe, 'tis more than probable that Sir *Henry Spelman* himself took a good Part of it from *John Fox*, Vol. I. p. 138. that very *Fox* whom Doctor *Zachary* speaks of so contemptibly, and doubtless for no other Reason than his being a *Puritan*. If there are some Errors in so voluminous a Work as his Book of *Martyrs*, Judgment and Humanity, in which our Doctor is shamefully deficient, would have consider'd, that where he must have so many Facts from *Report*, it was impossible to avoid some Slips; yet his *Martyrology* is treated by *A. Wood*, *Collier*, *Grey*, and others of their *Kidney*, as no better than the Fables of *Æsop*.

Nothing was ever falser than what Dr. *Zachary* adds, that I took the Exceptions to the Pope's Letter Word for Word from Sir *Henry Spelman*, without the *Ingenuity* to own it, or name my Author at all, p. 52. Every Word and Syllable, as to Substance, I took from Mr. *Sammes*, Bishop *Godwin*, and Mr. *Fox*, and did not think there was any Need of naming Authors, when such a Forgery as that was only in Question.

The Law-Doctor gives up the Story of King *Lucius's* making *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, p. 54. I did not imagine he cou'd be so condescending; the Tale being incredible, and therefore the more of a Piece with his others.

I own my Abhorrence of the Lives of the Monks, and my Contempt of their Learning, some few excepted; and nothing else cou'd have induc'd me to name Dr. *Tanner* with *Dugdale*, whose Zeal for Monkeny is as remarkable as his indefatigable Labour. I am sorry what I said of Dr. *Tanner* has expos'd him to the Panegyricks of so worthless a Flatterer as our L. L. D. appears to be. I respect that Gentleman for his Learning and Merit. But so it will fall out: Men will often suffer for their Company. In the Preface to *Notitia Monastica* is a long Quotation out of *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, which represents the Commissioners employ'd to visit the Monasteries as a Parcel of false crafty Fellows, who contriv'd a Narrative without Ground or Reason, setting forth the Wickedness and Lewdness of the Fryars and Nuns. How they practis'd with their Craft, is there intimated; and the Author of the *Notitia* seems to give into it more than one cou'd expect from so worthy a Man, and so good a Protestant. I shou'd take the Liberty to remark on what is his own, had I more Leisure, to excuse my mentioning him with *Dugdale*; for certain it is, that long before the Reformation the Manners of the Monasticks were animadverted on by others as well as *Chaucer*.

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confirm'd in his Religion or Principles by reading him.

Dr. Zachary, as if he really knew what was Sense and what Nonsense, says, p. 54. I am inconsistent, in making an *Apostolical Succession* from *Damianus* and *Fugatius*, and afterwards from *Austin* the Monk. Both of these Successions were made for me by several Pretenders to them; and the Inconsistency in it must lie at the Door of the Makers. He then adds, the two Persons were nam'd *Faganus* and *Diruvianus*. He's so ignorant, that it is Charity to set him right, if it was not for another Quality he has which renders him unworthy of it. These two Missionaries went by ten several Names, and yet it is very probable they had neither Name nor Being. *Damianus* is call'd *Deruvianus*, *Diminianus*, *Divianus*, *Donatianus*. Will he have any more! *Fugatius* is call'd *Faganus*, &c. Now because I did not hit that Name which he liked best, for he had the same Reason to find Fault with the one as with the other, he cries out, *If our Author's Readers expect Exactness from him, either in History or Chronology, they will find themselves much mistaken.* The Exactness in History about *Damianus*, we have seen; and the Exactness in Chronology comes next.

Page 62. I have put the Year 740 for 742, as he will have it. I'll not give my self the Trouble to see whether 'tis so, or not so; such Chronological Errors being so common, that there are few Facts which are not variously dated. In this very Year 742 Sir Henry Spelman places the Council of *Clovesho*, which others place Anno 744, and Dr. Hody 747; Sir Henry in his *Councils* places *Ina's Laws* Anno 692, and in his *Glossary* he says he began to reign A. D. 712. It would be a much easier Task to write a Book as big as Mr. Echard's,
of

of the Differences in Chronology, than to expunge what ought to be expung'd in his History. This very Author, if he's worthy of the Name, has himself transgress'd in the same Kind. He tells the World I have made a Chasm of 100 Years in Church History: From Pope *Cletus*, who was martyr'd A. D. 92 to Pope *Sister*, who was Bishop of *Rome*, Anno 168. according to Mr. *Echard's* Chronology is but 76 Years. He cou'd not see that I said 100 Years indefinitely, and to lay a Snare in the Way for him to commit this great Chronological Error.

The next false Assertion for which he deserves good Discipline, is in the next Page 55. The Fault is the more enormous, it being in Ecclesiastical History, and against his belov'd and esteem'd Mr. *Echard*: 'Tis also brought in so foolishly, 'twould grieve one to see it, if one had the least Kindness for him. Speaking of the before-mention'd Chasm in the Succession of the Popes, of whom I purposely left out *Eight*, he adds, *If the Author of the Crit. Hist. had known the Popes, he believes his Good Nature would have given him Leave to have nam'd them.* I can't help telling the Reader, that *Tallent's* Tables, the best Chronology extant, lay open before me when I was linking that un-interrupted Chain, and there were all the Names of the Popes, in Chronological Order, from Pope *Paul* to Pope *Odescalcibi*. If I had thought any Body car'd for it, I could have written that History as easily as Dr. *Zachary* can write any thing, that is, I could have stolen it *Verbatim*, and shew'd my self a much greater Scholar than he, who has pick'd up only a Dozen of 'em, and those wrong too, in the very Beginning of the Catalogue. *Petrus Linus*, and it should have been *Paulus Linus*: Nay, he is so bold in this Falshy, that he says it should be Peter not Paul, twice in a Page:

Directly contrary to which, Mr. *Echard*, *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 388. l. 22. says, *Linus* succeeded *Paul*, *Cletus* succeeded *Linus*, and so on to the End of the Chapter. The Man is as grave all this while as if the Chasm had not been affected, to render the whole Business more laughable. If I could have been serious on such a Subject, I would have made Use of an Authority, against which neither *Heylin*, nor *Collier*, nor *Hicks*, nor *Whar-ton*, nor himself, nor one of 'em all, durst say a Word, and that is *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who burnt so many Puritans in *Q. Mary's* Days. 'Tis in his Treatise *De Vera Obedientia: Likewise as concerning the local Succession of Peter*, the Pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be Successor of Peter, what follows I'm sure will never go down with 'em: He must succeed him in Doctrine and Conditions; and in so doing, he neither will, neither yet shall need to seek for Honour, but shall be honoured of all, according as a good Man should be, and that much more than he, being a good Man, would require. What Truth is this, even from the Lips of one that had lick'd the Blood of the Martyrs! How often have I declar'd the same Sentiments, as to the Succession, that it is truly Apostolical in all Ministers conscientiously discharging their Function, and that such never did, nor ever will want Respect; nor will such as the Doctor and other such *Diminutives* ever be able to extort it.

Dr. Grey has found out two *Witticisms* in the *Crit. Hist.* which the Author cou'd not find out himself. If there had been any thing arch in the Genealogy, he has spoilt it by aping it, and without all doubt, his Faction are ready to knock him o'the Head, for forging so honourable a Descent for the Writer of that History, to which he heartily subscribes, and has a good Mind to make him

him prove it in the Courts of *Apollo* and the Earl Marshal's, or have him indicted there for the Forgery. I cannot foul my Mouth as he does, or I shou'd reckon my self entitl'd to treat him *de haut en bas*; which, for Dr. Zachary's Sake, who understands no Tongue but what is taught by every Country Pædagogues, I translate *with Contempt*, or as I please. Folly is infectious, and if I offend, 'tis by his Example. How is it possible to keep within Bounds, when a Man has such Provocation? He gives me the LYE, p. 60. when he tells the most notorious One himself; and if not the dullest, he will appear the wickedest Creature that ever set up for an Author. *What follows is a Lye of our Historian's own making, if it be one, quoth our Doctor.* Directly contrary to which it appears at Sight to be a Lye, and I shall prove it is not of my own making: The Words are these, speaking of St. Alban: *His Head spoke after it was cut off; Angels ascended and descended singing to him all Night; and such as had been drowned in the River he dried up, were found alive.* This is what he affirms with the most harden'd Forehead. I added, to the Fable of St. Alban's Martyrdom, tho' they are the very Words of the Martyrologist, Vol. I. p. 115. "But among all other Evidences and Declarations, sufficient to disprove the *Legendary* Story of St. Alban, nothing maketh more against it than the very Story it self, as where he bringeth in the Head of the Holy Martyr to speak unto the People after it was smitten off from the Body; also where he bringeth in the Angels going up and coming down in a Pillar of Fire, and singing all the Night long; Item, in the River which he saith St. Alban made dry; such as were drowned in the same before, in the Bottom he found alive." All which Dr. Zachary again, with the same staring Front, as-

fores the Reader, p. 16. *Is wholly an Addition of my own.* If I could have used him as he deserves, might not I have been justify'd in it by these two False Assertions; but I am a Stranger to his Manners, which are truly of the Dreggs of the People, in which I doubt not he was dropp'd, and is never like to get out of it. He then goes on to defend the Legend of St. *Alban's* Miracles, by such an Authority as his own, *Jeremy Collier, Ado Viennensis, Rabanus Maurus, Northerus, and Matthew Florilegus.*

I foresaw that some *Zachary Grey* or other would fall upon me for railing at the Clergy. I frequently declared as much in the first Volume, and shall be obliged to explain my self in this Treatise, and in the second Volume also. I know very well one cannot too much respect the pious and orthodox Ministers of our Church: But what's this to your *Grey's*, your *Collier's*, your *Cock's*, your *Snatt's*, your *Stacey's*, your *Paul's*, and a Roll of 'em too large for my little Book? What's this to your Furious, Ignorant, Immoral, Illiterate, Factious, and Insolent Priesthood, if there be any such in Town or Country? Pray God the Number of 'em may lessen, and that the Examples and Lessons of their Superiors may have such good Effect upon 'em, as to prevent all Reproach hereafter.

It cannot be but the *Doctor's* Skull must be impenetrable, and no Intelligence could reach the Brains of him, p. 64. after repeating what the Archdeacon had said of *Monkish* Legends, which he repeats again, he transposes a Reflection of mine made before, and then cries out, *What is this better than denying and asserting at one and the same Time, and with the same Breath.* The Reader will be surpris'd when he finds, that I only said *One cannot depend upon them, yet we are forced to*
make

make Use of them. Were there any other Writers but the *Monks*, except of some small Parcels of History? One may say something of *Jeffery of Monmouth's Tale* about *Brute*, if a History of *England* was to be written; yet for all that, is he to be depended upon? Match my *Doctor* if you can, for Stupidity and Assurance.

He blames me, p. 59. for introducing the Fable of *Ursules*, and her 11000 Virgins, with a *Sneer*! Who can write the History of Dr. *Zachary's Saints* and Miracles without *sneering*? He adds, *he knows no Modern Historian who mentions it*: He know, that's very pretty indeed! Does he know any Antient or Modern Historian, but by *Indexes* and *Quotations*? He excepts *Polydore, Caxton, and Cressi. Stow* tells it too, which was not within his Knowledge. As if he had been my *Evil Genius* and haunted me, as perhaps he is himself haunted, he here invades my Privacies, and assures the World I never so much as saw *Caxton*: A downright direct Untruth; which he backs by another, p. 73. 'Tis apparent that *Fox* never saw *Caxton*, tho' he pretends to copy him. That learned Antiquary had not seen a Book printed but 100 Years before, out of which he takes the Account of King *John's* being poyson'd by the Priest, as will hereafter be mention'd. Page 333. Vol. I. the *Martyrologist* in the Text writes thus, *It is recorded and found in the Chronicle of William Caxton, call'd Fructus Temporum, and in the Seventh Book*, which *Zachary Grey* declares he never saw. Page *ib.* in the Margin, *ex. Caxton Lib. 7.* But for all that, quo the *Doctor*, *he never saw Caxton*. This invisible Book was one of the first printed in *England*: The Author, a Citizen of *London*, an honest Man, who wou'd have been heartily sorry, had he foreseen that his Works wou'd have tempted any Body to have told so many Untruths about them.

I have elsewhere mention'd how loath I was to name the reverend and learned Dr. *Tanner*, when I spoke of *Dugdale's* great Concern for the Ruins of Abbeys. It is pretty extraordinary, that those barbarous *Gothick* Buildings shou'd have so many Admirers, when there was hardly a Stone placed in one of them as it shou'd be, and, when the Learning that was acquir'd there was attended with so little useful Knowledge. It is very plain, the *Religious* were bred up in a blind Obedience to the Pope, and that the Priesthood under him, had the absolute Disposal of the Wills and Wealth of the *Monasticks*; the Loss of which Power is what *Dugdale* and others lament, as if Church and State had lost their best Foundation. I have never considered Sir *William Dugdale* as an *Antiquary* or an *Herald*: He doubtless understood *Antiquity* and *Coats of Arms* as well as any Man, and his *Baronage* is a very valuable Book; but that has no Relation to his Partiality in his *View of the Troubles*, and his Zeal for Monkery in his *Monasticon*, and all his Writings about it.

Dr. *Grey*, having sufficiently prais'd *Dugdale*, turns his Encomiums to St. *Dunstan*, the same who pull'd the Devil by the Nose, as we read in some of Dr. *Zachary's* best Authorities. He obtain'd a great Character for his *Sanctity* and *strict Manner of Living*; of which you may see enough in *Fox*. I don't wonder that proud imperious Monk has the good Word of our Doctor's Faction; he govern'd and insulted his Sovereign, and his Character agrees perfectly well with a Successor of his in the See of *Canterbury* about the Year 1640.

The next Quotation, p. 65. is of the same wicked Kind with that about St. *Alban*, a positive *Falsity*, in Defiance of Conscience or Modesty. I had said *William* of *Malmsbury* had reported that Miracles were done at the Tomb of *Elfreda*. He, on the

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contrary, declares, Malmsbury says no such Thing; the Author, I presume, borrow'd it from John Fox. True, and from John Fox I will always borrow what relates to Priests, Monks, and Miracles. Having spoken of the Lying Miracles of Dunstan, as Fox phrases it, and the Filthy Miracle of Editha, in Crit. Hist. We read, Vol. I. p. 202. And first here cometh in the Fabulous Miracles wrought at the Tomb of Elfleda, the King's Concubine, which William Malmsbury in these Words expresseth:

Nam nonnullis, &c.

In ops visus & auditus si adorant tumultum,

Sanitati restituti probant Sanctæ meritam:

And much more: After which the Martyrologist adds, "The English of which Verses is needless here to be recited; briefly the Effect is this, "That both the Blind, Deaf, Halt, and such as be "Mad, receive their Health again if they worship the "the Tomb of this Elfleda." Twice is the Name of King Edgar's Harlot repeated; yet see how our Doctor stares you in the Face, and tells you another Falshood: The Miracles were wrought at the Tomb of King Edgar, which probably John Fox or our Critick might mistake for the Tomb of Elfleda. He has not his Peer upon Earth! William of Malmsbury says it was a She Saint, Sanctæ: Yet after all, out comes as much Wit as he had in the Gizzard of him, the Names of Edgar and Elfleda beginning with the same Letter.

If it could be, what follows is still worse. I said Edward a Bastard was crowned King by Ethelred's Procurement: Upon which, he familiarly puts some more Interrogatories to me; as who told him Edward was a Bastard? and then he lugs out Brady, (p. 65, 66.) a special Authority as we shall see by and by. Edward, says that excellent

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Historian, *called the eldest Son of King Edgar, by his Wife Egelfleda, was placed in his Father's Throne according to his just Right.* This is the Man who never disguised any Thing, and whom Dr. Zachary stands by and swears for, like any *Talis*.

What a Couple of Doctors rare we have, will be seen presently: *William of Malmſbury* tells us, King *Edgar* debauch'd *Egelfleda*, or *Alfreda*, Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, and a Nun too, on whom he begot *Edward* in Bastardy, for which he was injoin'd Penance by *Dunſtan*, and afterwards took him a lawful Wife, *Elfritha*, Mother of *Edmund* and *Ethelred*. *Simeon of Durham*, and *Hoveden* write, that *Alfer* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles, stood by *Ethelred*, the only right Heir and lawful Son of *Edgar*. *Honest John Fox* tells us plainly, why *Dunſtan* and the Regular Priests set aside the Lineal Deſcent, and elected, consecrated, and anointed *Edward* the Bastard, King. Because the Duke of *Mercia*, and the English Lords who were for *Ethelred*, the right Heir, expell'd the Abbots and Monks who had intruded into Churches; the pretended Zeal of the Faction in our Days for Hereditary Right is all Grimace. Touch a College or a Pulpit, and hear what they ſay then. We remember what they ſaid about *Magdalen* and Dr. *Sharp*, and what they did, and it was well ſaid and well done, had they had the Grace to have perfever'd. He's extremely nice in his Terms on ſome Occaſions, and as filthy and ſaucy in others. Now he chides me for being ſo bold as to take a Word out of History, and call *Edward* Bastard: Why, he is not the firſt King that was called ſo; what does he think of *William* the Conqueror, &c.? He adds, I can be free with the Characters of Kings, if I don't like them. He means, I have ſpoke the Truth of King *James* I. King *Charles* I. and King *Charles* II.

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tho' not from my self, but from others; for I could know but little of the Facts at Ten Years old. The Kings and Queens ever since, he insinuates that I speak well of, and so I do, and so I will, or I must be the most undutiful and ungrateful of Subjects; the Reigns since being as much a Glory to the *English Annals*, as those before were a Disgrace. I say no more about *Langfranc*, p. 68. tho' Dr. Grey goes about to demonstrate that *Contention for taking Place* is an *eminent Instance of Learning and Wisdom*. I humbly conceived they were not, and if he has prov'd they are, he has done something.

When he compares *Caxton* and *Fox*, about the Murder of King *John*, he does it falsely again. *Vide Fox, Vol. I. p. 333.* "And first of all he, "*Simon* the Monk of *Swinstead*, counsel'd with his "*Abbot*, shewing him the whole Matter, and "*what he was minded to do.* He alledged for "*himself, the Prophecy of Caiaphas, saying, it is* "*better that one Man should die, than all the* "*People should perish."* Dr. Grey goes no farther in this Period than *minded to do.* Why does he leave out what follows, but to hide the Murderer's Prophanation of the Holy Scripture. There are more Alterations of the Text in this Quotation, but I have not Room nor Time to repeat them. I confess I left out too much of what *Fox* tells us concerning this Priest's Parricide, p. 332. You have the Abbot's formal Absolution of him for murdering the King, the perpetual Mass said for his Soul, and other horrible Circumstances.

Having lately read of a *German Emperor* that was poison'd with the *Host* by another Priest, it ran so in my Head that the Word *Sacrament* escaped me, which shou'd not have been there; and because he was not poison'd at the Sacrament, Dr.

Zachary

Historian, called the eldest Son of King Edgar, by his Wife Egelfleda, was placed in his Father's Throne according to his just Right. This is the Man who never disguised any Thing, and whom Dr. Zachary stands by and swears for, like any Talis.

What a Couple of Doctors rare we have, will be seen presently: William of Malmsbury tells us, King Edgar debauch'd Egelfleda, or *Elfleda*, Daughter of Duke Ordmer, and a Nun too, on whom he begot Edward in Bastardy, for which he was injoin'd Penance by Dunstan, and afterwards took him a lawful Wife, *Elfritba*, Mother of Edmund and Ethelred. Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden write, that Alfer Duke of Mercia, and many other Nobles, stood by Ethelred, the only right Heir and lawful Son of Edgar. Honest John Fox tells us plainly, why Dunstan and the Regular Priests set aside the Lineal Descent, and elected, consecrated, and anointed Edward the Bastard, King. Because the Duke of Mercia, and the English Lords who were for Ethelred, the right Heir, expelled the Abbots and Monks who had intruded into Churches; the pretended Zeal of the Faction in our Days for Hereditary Right is all Grimace. Touch a College or a Pulpit, and hear what they say then. We remember what they said about Magdalen and Dr. Sharp, and what they did, and it was well said and well done, had they had the Grace to have persever'd. He's extremely nice in his Terms on some Occasions, and as filthy and faucy in others. Now he chides me for being so bold as to take a Word out of History, and call Edward Bastard: Why, he is not the first King that was called so; what does he think of William the Conqueror, &c.? He adds, I can be free with the Characters of Kings, if I don't like them. He means, I have spoke the Truth of King James I. King Charles I. and King Charles II. tho'

tho' not from my self, but from others; for I could know but little of the Facts at Ten Years old. The Kings and Queens ever since, he insinuates that I speak well of, and so I do, and so I will, or I must be the most undutiful and ungrateful of Subjects; the Reigns since being as much a Glory to the *English Annals*, as those before were a Disgrace. I say no more about *Lanfranc*, p. 68. tho' Dr. Grey goes about to demonstrate that *Contention for taking Place* is an *eminent Instance of Learning and Wisdom*. I humbly conceived they were not, and if he has prov'd they are, he has done something.

When he compares *Caxton* and *Fox*, about the Murder of King *John*, he does it falsely again. *Vide Fox, Vol. I, p. 333.* "And first of all he, "*Simon* the Monk of *Swinstead*, counsel'd with his "*Abbot*, shewing him the whole Matter, and "*what he was minded to do. He alledged for "*himself, the Prophecy of *Caiaphas*, saying, it is "*better that one Man should die, than all the "*People should perish." Dr. Grey goes no farther in this Period than *minded to do*. Why does he leave out what follows, but to hide the Murderer's Prophanation of the Holy Scripture. There are more Alterations of the Text in this Quotation, but I have not Room nor Time to repeat them. I confess I left out too much of what *Fox* tells us concerning this Priest's Parricide, p. 332. You have the Abbot's formal Absolution of him for murdering the King, the perpetual Mass said for his Soul, and other horrible Circumstances.

Having lately read of a *German Emperor* that was poison'd with the *Hof* by another Priest, it ran so in my Head that the Word *Sacrament* escaped me, which shou'd not have been there; and because he was not poison'd at the Sacrament, Dr.

Zachary

Zachary will have it, that he was not poison'd at all. *The Writers of these Times*, says he, with his Forehead spread, p. 75. report no such Matters. *The Martyrologies*, 150 Years before him, said, most Writers agree in this, that he was poison'd by the Monk of Swinstead. I hope the World after this Time will excuse me, if I shall answer him, and all such Answerers, with Contempt only.

I beg leave here to digress a little in a Line or two on the Character of Mr. John Fox, whom this insignificant Mortal treats as if he had been his Equal. I have more than once observ'd, that the Hatred to him is on Account of his Piety and Charity, and his Abhorrence of Superstition and Persecution. *A. Wood* tells us, He resign'd his Fellowship at Oxford, about the Beginning of the Reformation, to prevent Expulsion. And he calls that Reformation a Mongrel Religion, p. 231. The precious Dr. Heylin, says, He appear'd in the Schism at Frankfort among the English, was against the Church of England, as settled in the Reign of Edward VI. and took Part with Knox and Whittingham. What's the Reason these Doctors hate Mr. Knox, Dean Whittingham, Mr. Fox, &c. so much? Is it not for what we read of the Latter, that he was always averse to subscribe to the Canons, and to the Ceremonies in some Part of the Church? *Asben Oxon* doubts this, and that bold Jesuit Parsons charg'd him with wilful Corruptions and Falsifications. Dr. Zachary falling in with the Jesuit, censures him for want of Learning, p. 65. I presumed he borrowed it at Second Hand, insinuating, that John Fox, plain John, did not understand Latin. Again, take Edward the Confessor's Character from HONEST John Fox: To whom he says, the Crit. Hist. is under more Obligations than perhaps he is willing to acknowledge, as if he was ashamed of him. On the Contrary, he values

lues himself on his Authority, as to Monks, Nuns, Miracles, Saints, and the like, notwithstanding the idle Reflections and impudent Falshoods, with which his Enemies, the *Papists*, and their Abettors, have endeavoured to blaken him. I have already taken Notice, that among so many thousand of Facts, it was impossible for Mr. Fox, who was forced frequently to trust to Hearsay, to avoid committing some Errors. I own'd too, in the first Volume, he might be somewhat too credulous. What's all this to his History, taken from antient Authors, which being sometimes next at Hand, I have made use of after him. Let us see what an Opinion learned and good Men have had of this labouring Author, and zealous Protestant Divine, and not mind what Heylin or Grey say; even in *A. Wood*, (p. 231, 232, 233.) we find, *He was esteem'd at Oxford, eminent for his Learning and Knowledge of the three Tongues, was a Person of good natural Endowments, a sagacious Searcher into Historical Antiquity, incomparably Charitable, of exemplary Life and Conversation.* There's another Reason why they are angry with him. *He shew'd much Judgment in his Labours, and the like.* Delaune, in his present State of London, speaking of Cripplegate Church, where Mr. Fox has a Marble Monument, gives Part of his Epitaph, *He reviv'd the Marian Martyrs, was an indefatigable Searcher into Antiquity, and Defender of Gospel Truth.* All this they must needs hate him for. But methinks, what follows, shou'd have been some Restraint upon them, since his Works, which they pretend to condemn, were honour'd above all Works ever yet printed in England or elsewhere by a private Man; being order'd by Dr. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury's Canons, Anno 1571. to be plac'd in the common Halls of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-

Archdeacons, Heads of Colleges, &c. I have been the longer upon Mr. Fox, to give an Idea of the Disposition of these Men to fall back again to Popery, by their inveterate Malice to serious and serviceable Protestants.

Whenever we find ill Men well spoke of, we may assure our selves that good Men will have ill Treatment. The Marrow of Dr. Zachary's lean Libel is of this Kind, and he can't help shewing us from whence he came, and what good Qualities he has, when probably he did not intend it. The Drab will be found out under a Lady's Gown, and the Brute under the Civilians. See if I have not Cause to descend to his own Stile. After he has been guilty of so much Falshood, so much Insolence, he says of me, p. 75. of whom he knows nothing, *He is so little versed in his Authorities, as not to have seen so much as the Lettering or Title Pages of abundance of Books, which he (out of his great Modesty) vouchsafes to quote, p. 75. and recommend to his Readers. But as the Reader by this Time must be sufficiently convinced of his Arrogance and Conceit, as well as his Ignorance, I will forbear saying any more upon that Head for fear of offending our Author.*

Zachary Grey, L.L.D.

There he is in his proper Colours; if I had been born in the same Hovel, or bred in the same Village with them, I could not have known his Quality and Conversation better by it.

He opens his Invective on the *Crit. Hist. cap. 7.* with another notorious Falshood. I had said Bishop Merks of Carlisle, who made the Speech against the *Revolutional Right*, for which Mr. Echard so highly extols him, entered into a Conspiracy to make War on the Person of King Henry IV. Upon this he says, *I take it for granted, this is a meer Fiction of our Critical Historian.* There he gives me

me the *Lye* again; and I refer to any of any Denomination, whether this is not the most incorrigible Creature he ever met with. Bishop Godwin, in his *Succession of English Bishops*, p. 680. Speaking of this *Murder*, has these Words; Soon after his Enlargement, he joined with the *Hollands* and others in a Conspiracy against King Henry, which being betrayed to the Destruction of all the rest, he only was pardon'd. The Pope was so ashamed of him, tho' our Doctor and our Archdeacon are not, that he turn'd him out of the Bishoprick of *Carliste*, and made him Bishop of *Samos* in *Greece*.

The Parliament that was held the 5th of Henry IV. ordered a Bill to be brought in against the *Temporalities* of the *Clergy*, and that he rejected it: But the Attempt so offended the *Ecclesiasticks*, that to be even with them, they nick-nam'd 'em the *Lack-Learning* Parliament; and I unwarily happen'd to say in Opposition to Mr. *Echard*, who jerks 'em a little for that Offence, *They had as much Learning as any of the preceeding Parliaments*; who inform'd him so, cries the Doctor? why truly his own dear self; and if I had the least Value for him in the World, I would tell him of a *Nostrum* for Writing; which, tho' he could never improve by it, would be a Curiosity for him to know. That Dulness of his, will, I am afraid, be a perpetual Impediment to him in the Way of all sorts of Improvement. I compared, an please ye, the Lists of that *Lack-Learning Parliament* with others; and having no Books as Dr. *Zachary* affirms, I must do it by *Manuscripts*; and having no *Manuscripts*, as he says also, it must be by *Conjuration*; and not being a *Conjurer*, as he maliciously and groundlessly declares elsewhere, no Body will believe I could do it unless I shew'd how.

5th of Hen. IV. Lack-Learning Parl.
 Bedford County, Reginald Ragou, chosen 3d and
 4th of Hen. IV.
 Bedford Town, John Freepurse, chosen the 6th of
 Hen. VI.
 Berks County, Edmund Spersholt, chosen the 2d of
 Hen. VI.
 Bucks County, Edmund Brudenel, chosen the 8th
 of Hen. IV.
 Cornwall, John Arundel, 6, 8, 12 Hen. IV. 2, 3,
 5, 7 Hen. V.
 Cumberland, Robert de Lowther, the Name suffi-
 cient.
 Derby, John Carson, the same.
 Devon, Thomas Pomeroy, the same.
 Dorset, Humphry Stafford, the same.
 Dorchester Burough, John Jurdaine, chosen 2d
 Hen. V. 3d Hen. VI.

By which it appears that they were Members
 chosen before and after, and Men of the best Fa-
 shion in their several Countries.

What a Rout does he make, because I say
Jack Cade, a Gentleman's Footman, who rose in
 Defence of the *Hereditary Right*, was taken and
 hanged before his Head was cut off, when he was
 only killed before his Head was cut off. So let
 it be; and I don't care whether the Rebels to
 our happy Government are killed or hang'd be-
 fore they are headed, provided Justice has any
 Way hold of 'em. Here again he quotes me un-
 conscionably, leaving out, "He was instructed
 "to use this Name, to sound the Inclinations of
 "the People towards the Earl of Cambridge's Ti-
 "tle, as Heir to *Mortimer*, Heir to *Lionel*, Duke
 "of *Clarence*, by *Philipa*, his Daughter, who mar-
 "ry'd the Lord *Mortimer*, and the Duke of *Clarence*

“*ence* was elder Brother to *John of Gaunt*, Great “Grandfather to *Henry VI.*” All this has he left out, and comes to *Cade's Fortune*, p. 78. and as if there had been no such Sentence between it. There would be no great Matter in this Cheat, if it was not in favour of a barefaced Untruth, which he says in the next Page, *He is not capable of distinguishing between the Houses of York and Lancaster.* He had but just read this Title of the House of *York*, when he spoke so falsely, and so dangerously.

When I mentioned the Duke of *York's* Treason and Perjury, in the Reign of *Henry VI.* Mr. *Echard* and I agreed in that Matter; upon which I observed, in such a Channel runs the Divine Right of Lineal Descent; for interrupting of which, Mr. *Echard* showers down his Judgments on the Royal Progeny. “This is such Stuff, quoth Dr. *Zachary*; that it plainly discovers the *Critical Historian* is no Conjuror.” He makes this vile Stuff of his own Worsted, and then puts it upon my Back. The Unjust Inference is his own. Mr. *Echard* says the Duke of *York* was guilty of Treason, &c. therefore our Doctor makes me say, He showered down his Judgments on the Royal House of *Lancaster*; which is every Word false, as appears at Sight. Did I not insinuate that Mr. *Echard* shower'd down these Judgments, not for declaring the Duke of *York* a Rebel, but for the House of *Lancaster's* interrupting the unalienable, unalterable, indefeasible, hereditary Light. What is said of these Judgments, is two Pages before, and spoken of another Reign, and of the Death of *Henry V.* the Glory of the *English* Name, who dying in the Midst of his Conquests, Mr. *Echard* says, *Indeed there seems to be something of the more immediate Hand of God in it, which now began to chastise the Progeny of Henry IV, who took the*

Crown Richard the 11d abdicated. This is not the only Judgment which Mr. Echard had in Store for the House of Lancaster. When Hen. VI's Ministers committed an Oversight prejudicial to the Lancaster Interest, he reflects, *The Eyes and Hearts of the Wisest are blind when God designs a Secret Scourge*, and visits to the Third and Fourth Progeny.

In the next Quotation he leaps forward 157 Pages to produce it main'd and unfair. "All the World, says the Crit. Hist. p. 78. knows King Charles had been a Papist many Years, which however Mr. Echard takes no Notice of, the King having himself lately broken the Seal affix'd to the Toleration." Here again he's false; the Sentence is not mine, but what follows: Echard, speaking of the Earl of Shaftsbury's being turn'd out, a few Lines after, extols the King's Zeal for the Protestant Religion; which he leaves out: All the World knows, &c. After he has committed this Fraud, he exclaims; *A bright Instance of our Criticks excellent Manner of Reasoning.* As he is incapable of distinguishing, so Narration and Argumentation are with him the very same Thing. Was the turning out the Lord Shaftsbury, whom Mr. Lock styles one of the Chief of the Protestant Lords, a Proof of King Charles's Zeal for the Protestant Religion? The Archdeacon knew he was a Papist, and how could he extol the King's great Zeal for the Protestant Religion, without Grimace or Dissimulation; and what other Reason could he have for it, but his persecuting Dissenters?

In the next Page 79, there is an Errat. of the Press, and Of should be left out. 'Tis printed, Right Heir OF Richard Duke of York, and it should be the Right Heir, Richard, Duke of York, as it was actually corrected by my self in the Errat. but omitted at the Press. Upon this,

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our Doctor *Crow* like a true Cock of the Dunghill, and fills a Page or two, to prove that *Perkin Warbeck* was not *Richard Plantagenet*. A Piece of History well worth the Labour of such a Doctor as he is. I'm satisfied a Man of his Head, cannot distinguish between *Pen* Faults and *Press* Faults; and tho' he would not serve for a Corrector, he would do very well for a Critick upon such Slips, which is the most good he can do. The Printers would then mind their Business better.

Page 80. He quotes me for saying Mr. *Echard* says, King *Henry VII.* designed to make a Bishop of King *Henry VIII.* and Bishop *Burnet* said he did not design it. Here his Forehead shines again, and his Folly surprizes one. He wou'd again turn the History into a logical Argument, and blunders and falsifies without Measure. Read his own choice Expressions. *Here again we have a Specimen of our Author's close Reasoning.* Bishop *Burnet* says, *His Father made him a Scholar, without any Intention to make him Archbishop*; E R G O the general receiv'd Opinion must be false in Fact! But why must Bishop *Burnet's* saying so, make it so? If he could prove Bishop *Burnet* infallible; which here will be a hard Matter to do, his Authority in this Case might pass for something: But why should not the Authority of our best Historians, &c. The Stupidity and Sawciness are too strong for me: I can repeat no more of it. The Falshood is equally astonishing; he comes on us, p. 80. with three Interrogatories and an *Ergo*, when himself had read and left out the solid Proof, which makes the Bishop really infallible in this Matter. My Lords Words are these, his Father had given Orders that both his elder Brother and he should be well instructed in Matters of Knowledge, not with any Design to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, FOR HE HAD MADE SMALL PROGRESS when his

Brother dy'd. He gives so good a Reason for't, that he cannot be fallible in it; the King could not design it when he was next Heir to the Crown. If I was not so ashamed of him, and so weary of him, I would beg him in case we could have future Commerce, that he would not quote such Authorities as *Collier, Heylin, Brady, Dugdale, Wharron, Hicks*, nor his *Historian*, nor *Warwick*, nor *Heath*, nor *L'Estrange*, nor *Nelson*, nor *Salmon*, nor his whole String of Authors: For I have enter'd a Caveat against 'em in the Court of History; with reserving to my self the Privilege to add to the said Caveat Dr. Grey, when he shall have done any Thing worth Caveating; and all of the same Faction that shall presume to set up for *Historiographers*, without any the least Licence from Genius or Truth.

The following Quotation is a *Numpril*; I know he'll say I don't understand *French*, and that I can't Spelly; but the Word is too good for such a one as he. I charg'd *Dugdale* with saying *Cromwell* Earl of *Essex* dy'd *little pity'd*; to prove it an Untruth, I gave an Instance of his being pity'd even by the King himself. Now see the *close Reasoners*. *Very likely he might be pity'd*, quo Dr. Zachary, p. 82. and his dying unheard be no Untruth; but his dying unpity'd was a notorious One. Sure the Man whom the King pity'd, could not be said to dye without Pity! I told you he was a *Numpril*; he knows not what I mean by it; and after he has so said, he goes on, and affirms, that the *Crit. Hist.* has directly falsify'd the Fact; for which he's an overbearing confident Fellow, p. 82. But *Zachary Grey* is a most modest, well bred intelligent, learned — L. L. D.

Again, p. 83. He charges me with being akin to him, and of the Dregs of the People: May, he's so fond of me, that he tells a staring

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Falsity to prove it. P. 83. He plentifully pour'd forth Ribaldry against the reverend the Popish Clergy, Monks, and Monasteries, such as UNFROCKING them, Language used only by Porters, and Persons sunk into the very Dregs of the People. If he had any Eyes in his Head, or Guts in his Brains, that's the Language of the Dregs, and suitable to my Subject, himself the very Essence of 'em, he would have seen that I was speaking of the Rabble, and had Reference to the Times when such Terms were used. However, I dare say there is no Protestant in Christendom, that would have been angry with me, had I apply'd *Unfrocking* and *Unkennelling* to the disbanding the Monks in King Henry VIII's Reign. Honest John Fox, an excellent Authority in this Case, among a thousand other Passages, has this, Vol. II. p. 501. "To omit the wicked and execrable Life of these Religious Orders, full of Fidelity, and found out by the King's Visitors, and in their Registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so shocking before the Face of God and Man, that no Marvel it is, if God's Vengeance from Heaven, provoked, would not suffer any Stone or Monument of these abominable Houses to be unplucked up. But as I said, letting these Things pass under chaste Silence, which for very Shame will abhor any Story, let us, &c." Tho' Mr. Fox was intimate with the greatest Lords of the Court and Country, of whom there is a long List in his Life; tho' he was Fellow of *Magdalen College, Oxon*; nay, and an Archdeacon too, and it is said, might have been a Bishop; yet for this very Passage will he be thrown among the Doctor's Dregs; but I hope he will not serve Henry VIII. so; especially, since he was intended to be made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, according to him and

his Historian. The Rabble having raised the Rebellion spoken of in the *Crit. Hist.* the King, in his Answer to their Demands, speaks thus of the Monks, *There be no Houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most Vice, Mischief, and Abomination of Living was used; and that doth well appear by their own Confessions, subscribed with their own Hands.* And now I will boldly say, in spite of the Doctor, that they were *unfrook'd* and *unkennel'd*.

As to the Stones with which *Somerset House* was built; I will not concern my self about them; let the Ecclesiastical Historians settle that Affair among themselves. I mentioned Mr. *Echard's* clearing the Duke of *Somerset* of Sacrilege, and his charging him at the same Time with *demolishing Churches*; which I thought was a Contradiction. But here too Dr. *Zachary* thrusts in *Heylin* and *Collier* before him, to prove what Churches were *pulled down*; and according to these excellent Men, the *pulling of 'em down* was no Sacrilege, or *Echard* contradicts himself; which is no such great Wonderment, as to make more Stir about it.

If I have split One of Dr. *Whitgift's* Articles in Two, let Dr. *Grey* glew it together again. Let 'em be two of 'em or three of 'em, I shall never see them again I suppose, and am resolved to leave Ecclesiastical History to those that have sublime Genius's fit for such great and difficult Undertakings; which we must rather hope to see than expect. Neither will I take upon me the least Drop of Mr. *Penry* of *Oxford's* innocent Blood, as I should do by justifying the Warrant for his Execution, sign'd by Archbishop *Whitgift*, and but two Laymen. He was of *Alban Hall, Oxford*; and there are some good Things said of him in *A. Wood's Athen. Oxon.* p. 258.

Page 86. He passes over Persons for Puritans, who in Reality were not so; as Grindale: Is there any bearing of him! Cox, Sands, Pilkington: There's a daring Falsity! How Ignorant and Irreligious must this Doctor be, not to have read and remember'd Dr. Henry Sacheverell's incomparable Sermon? he would have known then whether that most worthy Prelate, Archbishop Grindal was a Puritan or not, and whether Men of Piety and Charity have not ever since been from him term'd Grindalizers. The insolent Heylin is at the Head of those that have villify'd him for his divine Qualities, and called his Moderation Grindalizing; See Pref. to Calamy's Baxter's Life. Every one but our L. E. D. knows the other Prelates were noted for his Principles; and we might add many other eminent Divines of our Church, as Nowel, Whittingham, Cole, Humphry Turner, Horn, Jewel; were it possible to confound him, I would go further, and affirm that the Oxonians themselves were not only Puritans, but zealous for Puritanism: A. Wood, *ibid.* The Vigour of Puritanism did then reign among the Heads of the University.

I am so fair an Historian, that tho' he thinks I have no Adoration in Store for Archbishop Whitgift, yet I will copy from the worst Author I ever did in my Life, to recommend to the Readers where they may read the the best of him.

Sir George Paul's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*.

Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*.

Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*.

Dr. Zach. Grey, *Def.* p. 87.

He charges me, p. 87. with imitating Mr. Prymme, whose Works I never read, his *Kalendar* only excepted, in his *Libellous Way of Writing*.

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Had there been any Thing to be got by reading *Pyrrhus*, he would have sworn I had never seen it; and now I have not read him, I am exactly like him; as if *Estcourt* could have look'd like a Man whom he never saw. Dr. Grey has but a very small Faculty of Thinking; but as small as it is, 'tis wonderful out of the Way. If you have a Mind to read any Thing of the *Presbyterians*, Dr. *Zachary* recommends you to *Heylin* and *Collier*, p. 95. and having given the Reader such a Blessing, he ends his first Part.

I hope I shall be excused to all Men of Sense and Manners, for the Treatment Dr. *Zachary* meets with here. The many notorious Fallacies I have, and shall prove upon him, teach one to use Phrases equal to his Character; and tho' I take no Pleasure in it, I can by no Means bring my self to mix clean Language with his dirty; which would be like putting on clean Linnen to rake in a Kennel.

He skreens himself, p. 98, with the Lord *Clarendon's* Reputation. Be that as it will, he knows not why my Lord is so valuable, nor can he distinguish what is admirable in his History from what is not. I have large Collections by me of Instances, wherein he differs from *Whitlock*, whom even Dr. Grey owns to be a fair Writer, and from *Rushworth*, who has that Character from every Body whose good Word is worth having. But 'tis an ungrateful, and an unthankful Office; and one could expect no other History from an Author, who wrote it in Exile, in the Height of Resentment, and left it to be published by the *Oxford Men*. Indeed, for Mr. *Echard*, whose Patrons were mostly Men of *Revolutional* Principles, who have Benefices and Benefits from the Government, to treat those Principles

on which it is founded, and the Assertors of 'em, in the Manner he has done, argues Disingenuity and Ingratitude. Our Doctor hopes He will talk with the *Crit. Historian* himself, in whose Name I venture to promise, that the *Critical Historian* will talk with him, if he does not disown the Libel which Dr. Zachary has fathered; for there are several Passages in it, that shew in what Ground they grew, and that the Soil was as rank in some Places, as barren in others. Tho' much is to be dreaded from the dead-doing Pen of his favourite History Writer, yet I will be so frank as to inform them both, that the Second Volume of the *Crit. History* is in good Forwardness, and will consist entirely of a Review of the Archdeacon's Prefaces and Introductions, and a Comparison of his History with the Lord Commissioner Whitlock's; so that if he stays till it comes out, he may kill two Birds with one Stone, and answer two Volumes in one. But I confess, as these Answerers manage themselves, they may do it before they come out, as well as after. For they make one speak what they please; and being always well furnished with Scurrility and Assurance, they have such Answers as our Doctor's at their Fingers Ends.

He begins his Second Part like himself; the very first Quotation is false, and so also is his Remark. He puts these Words into the *Crit. Hist.* *In the four following Reigns there is no History upon which the Reader can depend.* This is falsely quoted, and there's as much Mettal in it as in the Forehead of the Statue at Charing-Cross. I said there's no History of the four following Reigns upon which one may depend. There are several such Histories in those Reigns, as Rushworth, Whitlock, Holli, Locke, Calamy, Marvel, to whom we might add, Ludlow, Baxter, Jones, Coke, Walker, Philips, Temple,

ple, and others, who wrote *Parcels* of that Period. Either he knows not the Difference between *of* and *in*, or his Conscience will let him do any thing when his Malice is at Work. In the same Paragraph, p. 98. he reflects thus: "In this general Charge, I don't find that the great Bishop *Burnet* his Favourite, (*thank ye, Mr. Doctor,*) who has written upon three of those Reigns, is excepted, tho' he afterwards flourishes so much upon his Character." I beg the Reader to conceive, if he can, what a Front he must have, to tell *Three* in a Breath, and then glory as if he had gain'd a Triumph over something else besides Modesty and Truth. This is so surprizingly false, that my Lord of *Salisbury* is excepted in the very next Words of all, as he quotes them himself: *'Tis true, there are many Exceptions to this Observation, and my Lord of Salisbury's late History is an unquestionable One.* Again; for there's nothing in Print like it; So that notwithstanding our Author's contrary Assertion, we have a History in Bishop *Burnet's*, which may be securely relied upon. Here's Inference! Because Bishop *Burnet* wrote only Three Reigns of the Four, as Dr. *Grey* tells us, therefore we may rely securely upon the other Reign which he did never write. Add to this, he jumps from p. 161 to p. 170, to tack those two false Quotations as near as he cou'd together, and make 'em look like a Contradiction.

In his following Paragraph, there is a double Contention between Falshood and Insolence, Ignorance and Ill-manners, for the Preheminence. "I question whether he ever saw any one Manuscript relating to *English History*, his Book being drawn from the very Dregs of our History, which makes it to use an Expression of History. *Mind,* his Eloquence smells so much of the Cask, and he has stoop'd to such mean and pitiful Remarks,

"marks, as sufficiently shew'd he'd pump'd him-
 "self to the Bottom, and that his Malice was up-
 "on the Lees," &c. I found out what he was by
 his Breeding and Language, before I knew other-
 wise whether he was a Man or a Monkey. His
 Information as to the *Critical History*, probably
 comes from the *Archdeacon*, to whom that Author
 recommended one of the most valuable Manu-
 scripts relating to King *Charles II's* Reign, men-
 tion'd by himself, p. 279. I hate the *Eternal May*
 spoken of by the *French Criticks*, and all Sorts of
Egosity, or else I'm satisfy'd this very Doctor
 could not help blushing at what might be said on
 this Occasion.

All I shall say of *Echard's* Story of the *Devil and*
Olivier Cromwell, is, that it stands in his Book still,
 and takes up Part of two Folio Columns, p. 691.
 He tells us *Echard* calls it a *Redundancy* or *Excre-
 scence*: I believe they are the *Archdeacon's* own
 Words, because in Two, there's One more than
 was necessary. But what then? Must we run eve-
 ry Time to his *Appendix*, when the *Devil* and
Cromwell are haunting us? Why has he not struck
 it out of his History, as he promis'd to do, when
 he was corrected? And as for those discreet Per-
 sons who, he tells us, are willing to have it stand,
 there's the *Dæmon of Tedworth*, and a hundred bet-
 ter Stories, to divert and improve them. I have
 almost done with him. What he has to say in
 Applause of the Reigns of King *James I.* King
Charles I. King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* is an-
 swer'd by every History of those Times, which is
 too well known, to be dwelt upon here. Let him
 find out Encomiums for them where he can, I'll
 not hunt after him, I don't like the Scent so well.
 The *History of a Standing Army* was not written by
 a Courtier: The Writer intended to perplex King
William and his Ministry, by opposing a *Regular*
 Force;

Force; and his Book was mightily cry'd up by Dr. Zachary's Friends. However, without knowing, or thinking any thing of the Matter, he falls to answering him as he answers me, p. 111. that is, he calls him *Libeller* and *Villain*.

He would drive me back to Bishop *Spotswood* for the Story of Earl *Gowrie's Tragedy*; but I won't be driven. I'll take *Osburn's Word*, who says this fell out upon August 5; on which many Lyes were told in the Choir of St. Paul's about that new Holy-Day. And if Archbishop *Spotswood* and Dr. *Grey* can prove there were never any told there, I will no more take Mr. *Osburn's Word*: But as he was a Gentleman, an Englishman, and never got a Farthing by King *James I.* which cannot be said of the Archbishop; his Authority is good to me, notwithstanding Dr. *Zachary* has no less than three or four Pages about it out of *Scotch History*. Further, he makes Two Blots, one of the Father, and another of the Son, and says I have confounded them. To explain my self, I mean Mr. *Osburn's New Holy-Day Plot*, when the Lyes were told in St. Paul's, and no other.

It is very hard at first to repeat such a filthy Word as *Lye*, for a Man that has had any other Breeding and Conversation than our *L. L. D.* I scarce ever met with it in History but once, and that is when another Doctor *Sydeserfe*, the Scotch Bishop of *Ross*, made so by Dr. *Laud's* Interest, gave the Earl of *Argyle* the *Lye* at the Council Table. Whoever has a Mind to see the short History of *Standing Armies*, wherein the Four Reigns are described, may turn to p. 657, & seq. in the Second Volume of *State Tracts*. The *Critical Historian* took 'em thence *Verbatim*; and again desires they may be compared with the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*. Dr. *Grey* cannot tell but the Author was a Man of Quality; and whether he

he was so or not, every Thing shews him to be at least his Superior: And thus it is that he treats him, p. 111. speaking of his History; *As compleat a LYE from the Beginning to the End, as the fertile Brain of the wicked Author could contrive, or the DEVIL himself could suggest.* This is follow'd by the Character of King Charles I. A blessed Tongue to speak a Panegyrick of the Royal Martyr! He shan't draw me in to add a Word to the *Short History*, there's enough: And a very late Instance has given me a Surfeit of that Subject. Since he so often quotes Sir Philip Warwick, let's see what is said of him in *A. Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Vol I. p. 278. *He never lyes more than when he speaks the Sincerity of his Heart.* Whatever I have to say to confirm any such Pieces of History, must be published with such Posthumous Pieces as my Executors may think worth Printing, tho' perhaps the World may not.

Page 120. He goes about to prove that Dr. *Montague's* Cause was the Cause of the Church, and brings in *Montague* to be a Witness on his own Side, which has clear'd that Matter excellently well.

Page 121. produces an Encomium by Sir Philip Warwick; to which I refer the Reader, and acquaint him, that a *Some say* should be added to the *Crit. Hist.* p. 199. according to Dr. *Zachary*. Well, let him add it then, if 'tis so in *Whitlock*; but I know what is not so in *Whitlock*. The very next Quotation of our honest Doctor's is out of him. He assures us, p. 122. with his wonted Boldness; *Whitlock*, p. 32. *says of him, He was too full of Fire, but a just and good Man.* *Whitlock*, the Memorialist, does not say one Word of it: On the contrary, he writes thus, "The chief Blame and Odium of all, was
" by many laid upon Archbishop *Laud*, who was
" more

“ more busy in Temporal Matters, and Affairs
 “ of State, than his Predecessors of later Times.
 Indeed, Judge *Whitlock* did say thus of *Land* :
 “ He was too full of Fire, though a just and
 “ good Man, and that his want of Experience
 “ in State Matters, and his too much Zeal for
 “ the Church, and Heat, if he proceeded in the
 “ Way he was in, would set this Nation on
 “ Fire.” Now read *Collier*, *Heylin*, *Wharton*, *Grey*,
 and the whole Knot of them ; compare this set-
 ting the Nation on Fire, spoken by Judge *Whitlock*,
 with *Echard*’s Dove-like Meekness and Innocence.
 As for Religion and Piety, I expect it not from
 them. I know what stands in stead of it ; some
 of the Zeal aforesaid ; but Common Sense and
 Common Honesty one would expect. Is there
 any Thing more contrary to the Divine Spirit
 and Function, than to be busy about Temporal
 Matters ; of which he had small Experience ? and
 can any Thing be more inconsistent than a Saint
 and an Incendiary ? I can’t help it ; I had it from
 Judge *Whitlock*, in the very Page and Paragraph
 which Dr. *Zachary* has fallily quoted.

In the next Quotation, he brings *Collier* in
 with him as a Proof, that Dr. *Leighton*, Father of
 the Seraphick Archbishop of Glasgow, deserved
 to be *payled* as long as the King pleased, to pay ten thou-
 sand Pound, to be twice barbarously whipp’d, to have
 both his Ears cut off, to have his Nose slit, his Face
 stigmatized, &c. for calling the Queen Canaanite,
 that is as much as to say French Woman, and I-
 dolatress, that is as much as to say Papist. We
 need not mention Dr. *Land*’s being in this bar-
 barous and bloody Business. I’ll leave it to Mr.
Echard to determine whether he was not one
 of *Leighton*’s Judges.

Page 124. we have another Paragraph by Sir Philip Warwick, it is upon Dr. William Juxon: All that I had to say of him was and is, That he being of the Holy Vocation, the Minister of God's Word, call'd to it by the Holy Spirit, did so far incumber himself with worldly Affairs, as to undertake the Management of the publick Treasure; and I did insinuate, and do so again, that the Practice of the Primitive Bishops, when the Church of Christ was in its Purity affords no such Example; and I wanted Instruction, and do still want it to inform me how a Man who makes a Conscience of discharging his sacred Duty, after a Call to the Ministry, can involve himself in Temporal Matters to such a Degree as to take on him the Office of Lord High Treasurer of England. I think what *Whitlock* writes of him is much more defensible, p. 23. That at his Parsonage of Somerton in Oxfordshire, he kept a Pack of good Hounds, and had them so well ordered, and chiefly by his own Skill and Direction, that they exceeded all other Hounds in England. He adds to his Praise, He had as much Command of himself as his Hounds.

In Page 126, is Sir Philip Warwick's Character of Mr. Prynne; but his Picture is so coarse, one would think 'twas rather laid on with a Trowel than with a Pencil. He again brings in *Collier* to witness for him, p. 127. These Men are all of a Piece, and it can't be otherwise: Such a Cause must have such Advocates, and none but dirty Workmen are fit to be set about dirty Work. *Collier* join'd with *Cook* and *Snar* to absolve a Traytor and an Assassin at the Gallows. So detestable a Piece of Wickedness and Impudence that the Reverend the Fathers of our Church, as my Lord of Canterbury, Dr. Sharp Archbishop of York, Dr. Compton Bishop of London, Dr. Crew Bishop of Durham, Dr. New Bishop of Winchester, and Nine

E

Bishops

Bishops more, publish'd a Declaration against those Three absolving Praelts, of whom Collier was foremost! In which Declaration they are term'd Scandals of the Church and Religion; and it is said Dr. Zachary's Collier, and his two Brethren were pretended Members of the Church of England; and what is Dr. Grey I wonder! Their Lordships conclude, *We disown and detest all such Principles, looking upon them as highly Schismatical and Scissious, dangerous both to the Church and State, and contrary to the true Doctrine and Spirit of the Christian Religion.* This Schismatick Collier does Dr. Zachary produce to bear his Testimony for our Orthodox Church and Churchmen.

He labours very much, p. 131, 132. to prove Sir Edward Deering a Turncoat; perhaps he was. I only repeated what he said of Bishop Laud, *His Grace will have more Grace or no Grace, &c.* I am not so much in Love with the Speech as to repeat it again.

I do still tell Dr. Zachary that Robert Harley's Name was not Robert Harlow, *Vide* List of the Long Parl. County Hereford. This Error the Critical Historian corrected for Echard, as may be seen by his Index.

We come now to one of the finest Tracts that ever the Party published, and that is, *A Dialogue between the Cross in Cheap, and the Cross at Charing.* He prints a good deal of it, p. 133. and it is from such Magazines that he steals his little Wit as the *Cross-Cross* in the Horn-Bock, p. *ibid.* and other inoffensive *Crosses*.

Page 135. is a Quotation out of the *Crit. Hist.* about Lord Digby's appearing in Arms at Kingston; upon which Mr. Echard endeavour'd to be as wisty as Dr. Grey is upon the *Crosses*; and to demonstrate that Whitlock is not in the Right, p. 52. when he says the Lord Digby and Col. Lunsford

were

were gathering some Troops of Horse at Kingston, he has the Matter try'd by the Lord Digby himself, and repeats above three Pages of his Apology.

If he thinks I shall be at any Pains to prove that the Parliamentarians were not Papists, or that Cromwell was not a Coward, which he puts me upon, p. 138, 140. He is mistaken; nor will I believe King Charles the Fifth's Troop of Guards were richer Men than the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, as Echard said, and as he vouches for him, notwithstanding Sir Philip Warwick, with whom he will never have done, is his Back for some Part of it. The silly Man insults me for saying only the Earl of Essex had the Advantage of the King at Edge-hill; and then to evince that he had not, he quotes Whitlock, who tells us the Earl gain'd a full Victory, p. 142. His Conscience and his Head open and shut so that they can't hold together for two Lines. He will be always falsifying or blundering. The next Quotation is about Mr. Echard's Judgment shew-ered down upon Mr. Hampden in Chalgrove Field, which Dr. Grey affirms is as it shou'd be, and a Judgment it was, for putting in his best Coat first in that very Field, where one of the King's Soldiers shot him. All the Parliament's Army cou'd not well be kill'd in the same Places where they were first muster'd, or else the same Judgment wou'd have made an End of all of em. In Seventeen of his Assembly Doctors he is only mistaken in Ten, quoth Zachary Grey, E. L. D. Now I am not mistaken in One of them that follow. They are every one Doctors of Divinity in Calamy's Abridgment. See their Names in the Index to the Second Volume, and other Parts of both Volumes, where they are nam'd.

William

William Twisse, D. D. Francis Cloyne, D. D.
 William Gouge, D. D. Humphry Chambers, D. D.
 Tho. Temple, D. D. Edmund Staunton, D. D.
 Lazarus Seaman, D. D. Peter Smith, D. D.
 Anthony Tuckney, D. D. John Arrowsmith, D. D.
 Henry Wilkinson, Sen. D. D. Edward Reynolds, D. D.
 Henry Wilkinson, Jun. D. D. Cornelius Burgess, D. D.
 William Sparrow, D. D.

Every one of these Doctors had their Degree before the Assembly, or during their Session, or after Oliver dissolved them with the Parliament. They are so call'd by Dr. Calamy, as is above ascribed; and yet this modest ingenious Doctor affirms Ten of those Divines were not Doctors. The contrary of which we have prov'd from Calamy, who has copied the Record Dr. Grey pretends to quote as if he had taken it out of those in the Tower. Whether they had been Doctors or not, they were most of them, and of the whole Assembly, Men of Learning and Piety; some of 'em also distinguished themselves by their Loyalty; Mr. Case being imprison'd for a Plot against Cromwell, in Favour of King Charles II. Is he not asham'd to join King Charles I's Works, p. 145. with Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, as Evidence that the Assembly were a Parcel of sorry Fellows? There is another of his best Authorities Peter Heylin, D. D. In A. Wood's Account, *Arben. Oxon.* we read this of him; He was very conceited and pragmatical, of a very mean Port and Presence, bold and undaunted, too high and proud for his Function: In a Word, too much a Party to be an Historian: And Bishop Barlow, speaking of A. Wood the Oxonian, and this Peter Heylin, "The first Specimen of this Author's Abilities, A. Wood, " was *Antiquit. Univers. Oxon.* in which there is " not only false Latin but false English too, and " many

" many bad Characters cast on good Men, espe-
 " cially on the *Antinomians*, who are all, especi-
 " ally Dr. *Prideaux*, made seditious Persons and
 " Schismaticks, if not Hereticks: Nay our own first
 " Reformers, out of Peter Heylin's angry, and, to our
 " Church and Truth, scandalous Writings, are
 " made Fanatics. How like they are to one
 another, and how unlike the Ministers of the
 true Protestant Church of England, whom, how-
 ever they crowd in among as often as they are in
 Question! Honest John Fox is so treated by Zacha-
 ry Grey. His admired Collier, and his adored
 Heylin are said to be Scandals to the Church by the
 Fathers of it; yet both the Law Doctor and the
 Archdeacon boldly quote them as Authorities.
 These have I ferreted out of their Holes, and
 pluck'd off the Vizard of Zeal from them, under
 which appears the counterfeit Churchmen, to be
 the Shame and Disgrace of the sacred Name.

He cannot speak Truth, tho' about a Trifle. I
 said, Echard rather takes Measure of Cromwell like
 a Taylor, than describes him as an Historian; and he
 falsely quotes it thus; He takes Measure of him like
 a Taylor, and then describes him as an Historian. He
 leaves out rather, and puts in then, which not on-
 ly alters the Sense, but turns the Historian direct-
 ly into a Taylor, which was not my Intention.
 Then comes a new Dressing of Cromwell's Coat,
 Shirt, Band, Hat, Hairband, Sword, &c. all out of
 Order. These Writers, I perceive, are better Va-
 lets than they are Authors; and as to the Doctor,
 by his Language and Manners, one would take
 him for no other. The Proofs of Oliver's Coat,
 Waistcoat, and Breeches, &c. are taken first out of
 Memoirs; Sir Philip Warwick's once more; and se-
 condly, out of a Sermon; Dr. South's. The Style
 of which, as well as the Sentiments, being ex-
 tremely edifying, p. 148. a Bankrupt beggarly Fel-

low, with a thread-bare torn Cloak, a greasy Hat upon Vix, &c. Is it to hear such Stuff as this that People went to Church? There's more Wit in many Ballads, and more Instruction in many Almanacks.

Page 129: He tells us Mr. Selden translated a Book without understanding the Language, and, as if he had been a Saracen himself, he corrects Mr. Selden's Translation of an Arabic Word. The Glory of our Nation is charg'd with mistaking or perverting his Author's Sense, with being a Fool, or a Knave, and imposing upon his Readers. Would one have a good Word from a Dabbler, that cou'd speak so bad a One of the great Selden?

We are a second Time told, that one Mr. Slater has knock'd down a Book call'd *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church*. But his saying so, shall not draw me in to read the unanswerable Answer of the said Mr. Slater. I know the *Enquiry* too well for that, and what rare Work such an Answerer must make of it, when the Fact and the Argument, unless wrested and torn, as Zachary Grey has serv'd me, are against him?

In Quotation, p. 150. and his Remark upon it, his Metal is burnished up again, and one of the most senseless Untruths that ever was utter'd keeps his Hand in. I mention'd a Speech of the Lord Marquis of Hertford's at the Treaty of Uxbridge, where his Lordship seem'd to lay no Stress on the *Pure Divine* of Prelacy or Presbytery; and I ask'd Mr. Echard, why he did not insert it? Zachary Grey vouches for him, *because he had no good Authority for it*. Here he contradicts himself, to commit this Fallacy, he having acknowledged Whitlock to be a good Authority; and the Marquis of Hertford's Speech is Word for Word in Whitlock's

Me-

Memorials, p. 123: with this Addition; *The Earl of Pembroke was of the same Opinion.* As to his Historian's Authority, I remember a Saying reported of King William to Hamilton, who had betray'd him, after the Battle of the Boyne. Hamilton being taken Prisoner, his Majesty ask'd him, Whether he thought such a Body of the Irish Army wou'd stand? Hamilton reply'd, *Yes, upon my Honour.* Your Honour I said the King, and turn'd from him. Dr. Zachary, to make me a Forget of this very Speech, tells us, he has been looking about for it, and cannot find it either in *Eikon Basilike*, nor in *Dugdale's View*, nor in my Lord Clarendon, nor any where else. Therefore, p. W5r. it is no better than another Lye of his own making. It will not bear Reflection.

Let his Admirers, if such Animals there be, think what they will of *Eikon Basilike*, I will not contest who is the Author: It has been so often and so well contested, there's no Room left for Doubt, and it is given up by every one that has had any Curiosity about it. Page 151. The Abbridgment of *Montros's Life* is very little more than what the Crit. Hist. took from Mr. Echard's Index; and how could he do better than to take from himself, the *Critical Historian* having made that very Index? A Secret Dr. Gray was not let into; nor that he was the sole Editor of the *Compleat History of England*, wrote all the Notes, several of the Reigns, and the entire Index. This Work the Law Doctor speaks of, insinuating, that the Historian was a Stranger to it. So, in another Place, he upbraids him with his not having seen Dean *Prideaux's Connection*, when he saw it printed before the Dean himself did, and assisted considerably in its Publication. All these Things are a kind of *Egotisms*; but it was necessary to say so much, that the Reader may be confirm'd in the Opinion

Opinion he has conceiv'd of Dr. *Zachary's* Capacity, Modesty, Manners, and Learning. The *Latter* will further appear in a Catalogue of his Books, p. 157.

Princely Pelican.

Walker's Answer to Lilly's Almanack Maker.

Dugdale's View.

Long's Revival of Baxter.

Long's Answer to Dr. Walker.

Milton's Iconoclastes answered.

Restitution to the Royal Author.

Young's Evidences.

Wagstaff's Pindication.

Wagstaff defended against Toland.

Barwick's Life, &c.

These are the Cream of his Closet.

The next *Encomium*, taken again from Sir *Philip Warwick*, is upon the Marquis of *Montrose*, consisting of about three Pages; but as I've not read 'em, I can't tell what's in them.

I was a little angry with Archdeacon *Echard* for not printing the *Protestation* of the *Presbyterian Ministers* against the King's *Trial* and *Death*. The Fact is true, they did protest, and they are not nam'd. Dr. *Zachary* does not care a Farthing for this *Protestation*; he produces several Quotations, *English* and *Latin*, to prove that they cut off the King's Head, at the same Time that they preach'd and protested boldly and warmly against it, in such Expressions as these: "They were wholly unsatisfy'd with the Proceedings, since the Exclusion and Imprisonment of the Members of the House of Commons; and held themselves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and Men, that they verily believe the taking away the Life of the King in the Way of Trial now depending, was

" not

"not only not agreeable to any Word of God,
 "the Principles of the Protestant Religion, never
 "yet stain'd with the least Drop of the Blood of
 "a King, or to the Fundamental Constitution of
 "the Kingdom, but CONTRARY to them, &c."
 This Paper they deliver'd to the General of the
 Army in a Council of War; *A plain running a
 great Hazard, as Things then stood, says Dr. Calamy,
 and may be justly reckon'd an Evidence of the great
 Integrity and Honesty of the Persons that subscrib'd it.*
 There is nothing in History so certain, as that the
 Presbyterians very boldly and solemnly enter'd their
 Protest against the King's Tryal and Death; no-
 thing so certain, as that none but the Presbyterians
 did restore, or cou'd have restor'd his Son King
 Charles II. And yet how cruelly, how wickedly,
 have they been treated for it! Not by the true
 Sons of the Church; they will always be look'd
 upon by such as their Protestant Brethren; but by
 the Scandals to it, such as Heylin, Collier, our Do-
 ctor, and others of that Kidney. Dugdale too
 blackens them on this Occasion, as much as the
 Malice of Man is capable of. P. 156. Zachary
 Grey's Defence: *What did the Independents more to
 him by MURDERING him, than was done by the
 Presbyterians, who most inhumanely tormented
 him, by a lingering and disconsolate Imprisonment,
 wherein he was in perpetual Fear of Murder, by Pi-
 stol, Dagger, or Poyson, &c.?* I have said before,
 that the True Sons of our Church abhor such un-
 charitable Reflections: So also do her learned and
 pious Fathers. What follows are the Words of a
 Prelate now living, (K. H. E. V. 3. p. 175.) and there-
 fore not nam'd: *In Justice to the greater Part of
 the Presbyterian Ministers, it must be acknow-
 ledg'd, that when they saw too late the sad Issue of
 Things, they did then labour to prevent the execra-
 ble Fact of putting the King to Death.* Dugdale in
 that

that same Harangue against the Presbyterians, can't help shewing his Devotion to Monks and Monasteries, by a Fling at the Suppression of them; tho' he speaks of other Religious Foundations. They would have extorted a Consent from him to the sacrificing the Lands of the Church to their greedy Appetites, aiming therein, as much as in them lay, the Ruin of his Soul, by making him a Robber of God. How is that tremendous Name profan'd, by appropriating it to the paltry Interests of lewd Fryars and Nuns! Again, and thereby pulling upon him all those heavy Curses denounced by the pious Doctors upon the Violators of their devout Gifts. This is Dugdale, whom you hear so much of in Mr. Echard and Zachary Grey. I have nothing to do with him, as Author of the *Baronage* and *Warwickshire*; laborious and useful Works. What I remark'd, is on his *History of the Troubles*, which is indeed remarkable for Deficiency and Partiality, and on his malignant Zeal against the Liberty of our Constitution, Spiritual and Temporal.

Dr. Zachary is come, p. 159. to the Murther of Mr. *Ascham*, the English Resident in Spain; and in Favour of the Murtherers, has no less than six Pages upon that infamous Story. He doubts not his Account of the Tragedy will be credited, because it is taken from the Earl of *Clarendon*, whose Servant *Henry Progers* was one of the Assassins. The Earl himself was at that Time Ambassador from King *Charles*, who was then in Possession of no Kingdom, and Mr. *Ascham* was Resident from the Powers of *England*, then the most formidable in *Europe*. Thus the Earl had but an ill Lay of it against his Competitor Mr. *Ascham*, and he treated him accordingly. Some English Mercenaries in the Spanish Service, together with his Servant *Progers*, consulted to kill this Fellow, says my Lord *Clarendon*; and again, for such a FELLOW as that to appear there,

there. This is the Way; the little Insects, the very Vermin of the Party learn this Air; and, as unbecoming as it is in Persons of my Lord's exalted Character and Merit, Dr. Zachary apes it, and is as awkward as he's insolent. Cannot one see the partial and ungenerous Usage the Lord Clarendon shews on this dismal Oecasion? Mr. Alcham, says *A. Wood*, Vol. II. p. 385. was born of a Genteel Family, educated at Eaton School, and thence elected into King's College in Cambridge, where he took the Degree of Master of Arts; He was afterwards made Tutor to James Duke of York. He was a Man of good Learning and Parts; but being likely to make a better Figure in the Court of Madrid than my Lord, it is to kill this Fellow, and such a Fellow again; while the Popish Mercenaries that murder'd him, have this mild Language, *Those unhappy Gentlemen, Foot-Soldiers*, probably and *Hootmen*; and the Murder itself is only sty'd *Rashness* by him, p. 168. The Pope's Nuncio stood by the Assassins, as well as some others that shall be nameless. For my Part, if *Forster* or *Mackintosh* had been assassin'd in that horrible Manner, I shou'd have been very glad to have seen the Assassins hang'd on the same Gallows which they are fled from. Let Justice take Place in its due Course; but Blood is guiltless till 'tis tainted; and let those that delight in it, enlarge upon this Story.

The History of *Cromwell's* Carcass and Coffin, is in Page 164. Such another delightful Subject taken from *Dugdale* and *Heath*, very fit for such History.

As to *Monk's* Pedigree, I never said it was false. I knew it better than he did, from an Ensign in King *William's* Army, who was *Monk's* Cousin, and has brag'd of his Birth, when, God knows, he had little to keep Life in him. I only intimat-

ed,

ted, that it was a whimsical Genealogy, from the Plantagenets; and if Mr. Webster has proved it not to be so, I am satisfy'd. No Body ever doubted his being born of a good and ancient Family; but every Gentleman of *Wales* is not of the Blood of the *Tudors*.

Sir Henry Vane's Death is the next which Dr. Grey glories in. I laid p. 259. In Mr. Echard, he died in a *very discomposed Manner*: In Bishop Burnet, with *more than ordinary Composedness*. As to the Soldiers beating their Drums about Sir Henry Vane's Ears, in the last Minutes of his Life, it was not so bad as their striking their bloody Daggers into Mr. Ascham's, and the Spaniard's Head and Heart; in the telling of which our Doctor takes so much Pleasure, that he's longer about it than any one Tale he has told.

After Sir Henry Vane's Head was cut off, he hangs up Philips, Tongue, Gibs, and Strubs, for a Plot, which he affirms I have a Mind to slur over as a *Fictitious One*. He's not so confident here as he's foolish. I had no Mind to slur it over, because it was slur'd enough before. Vol. I. of Dr. Calamy's *Baxter's Life*, p. 305. As soon as the Act of Uniformity took Place, more Plots were hatch'd, to keep up the same Spirit, as Yarrington's Plot first stirr'd up Thomas Tongue, George Philips, Nathaniel Gibbs, &c. who were try'd for High Treason, and condemned. An Account of it was published, entitled, A Brief Narrative of that Stupendious Tragedy, late intended to be acted by the *Satanical Saints* of these Reforming Times. But whoever reads their Trial, will see Reason to conclude, that the Court was very willing they should be thought guilty, to inflame the Populace against such as did not fall in with the Church of England. I did say, and do again say, I could have been merry with this Plot, had not the Cruelty of the Times turn'd it into a Tragedy. Against this barefaced Truth

Truth, he brings out a *Chronicle*, written by one *Heath*, which is the best Book he has upon his Shelf; I hope he will read it over as often as his said King *Charles II.* did *Hudibras*. Our Doctor has made marvellous Use of him; and I could not imagine how he came by him, unless some *Whig*, out of Malice, had laid it in his Way: For *Heath's* Character is so like his own, that it could not but take with him. *A. Wood* describes his *Chronicle* thus; Some Copies have in them the Pictures of the most eminent Soldiers in the Intestine War, which makes the Book valued the more by some Novices. I doubt not Dr. Grey's *Chronicle* has every one of the Pictures. *A. Wood* proceeds, Vol. II. p. 295. This *Chronicle* being most compiled from Lying Pamphlets, and all sorts of News Books, there are innumerable Errors therein, &c. He wrote several other valuable Tracts, as a New Book of Loyal English MARTYRS and CONFESSORS, who have endured the Pains and Terrors, &c. for the Maintenance of the Government in Church and State; Flagellinæ, or, The Life and Death of the Usurper *Cromwell*; And other such Rarities. Having spoken of Tongue's Plot as above, Dr. Zech. says, There's too much Evidence upon Record, to be invalidated by so considerable an Author as our Crit. Hist. I thank him for his good Word, but I wish I had not been joined with his Chronicler; for this too much Evidence is taken from *Heath*, p. 512. as he quotes him; and Mr. *Richard* in his Preface to the Second Volume, mentions the said *Heath* with the Lord *Clarendon*, Mr. *Sanderfon*, Dr. *Heylin*, *Berlsey*, *Salmoner*, and others.

I think I shall hardly have Patience with him, when he labours to load the Dissenters with the Fire of *London*; and his Authority is the *Caveat* against the *Whigs*; which I am never like to see but in such Writings as Dr. Grey's. Of *L'Estrange*,
who

who is another of his Authorities, a noble Lord told us enough in a Speech in the House of Peers, about the Popish Plot; *See Hist. Eng. Part 3. p. 852* "Some Persons, notwithstanding the many Evidences of the Plot, have been industrious to revile the King's Witness, and one is Roger L'Estrange, who now disappoints being one of the greatest Villains upon Earth; as Roger beyond my Skill to delineate, who has been the Bugbear of the Protestant Religion, and traduced the King and Kingdom's Evidences, by his notorious Scribblings; and he has endeavour'd as much as in him lay, to eclipse the Glory of the English Nation. He is a dangerous rank Papist, proved by good and substantial Witnesses; for which, since he has walk'd under another Disguise, he deserves of all Men to be Hang'd; and I believe I shall live to see that be his Fate."

I endeavour to rid my self of his Authorities as fast as I come at them; and you see how exactly they tally. When I make use of such *Greyisms* as *Metal*, *Insolence*, *Assurance*, and the like, it seems strange and grating. I never did before, nor ever will again. For I'll answer no more of 'em, nor meddle with no more. But how can one contain, when this unparalell'd Doctor stares you in the Face, and charges the Non-conformists with burning the City of London; p. 172, 173? His wicked Warrant is the impious Author of the *Caveat*; and this he does in direct Contradiction to the King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled. I mentioned, p. 266. a Saying of the Lord Chancellor Finch at Viscount Stafford's Trial, Who can doubt any longer that London was burnt by Papists! I have discours'd more largely on the Villany of the Charge against Protestant Dissenters firing the City in the Second Edition of the

Crit. Hist. and shall only add here the Sense of that great Capital of the British Empire, which *Heylin, Echard*, and others, have term'd the Sink of Sedition, Rebellion, &c. This Sense is declared in a solemn Manner, being inscribed on the Monument, one of the noblest and most regular Columns in the World. The Words about the Plumb of the lower Pedestal are these: *This Pillar was set up in Perpetual Remembrance of the most dreadful Burning of this Protestant City, begun and carry'd on by the Treachery and Malice of the Popish Faction, in the Beginning of September, in the Year of our Lord 1666, in order to the carrying on their horrid Plot for extirpating the Protestant Religion and Old English Liberty, and introducing Popery and Slavery.* On one Side of it was a Latin Inscription, in which was this Expression, *Sed Furor Papisticus qui tam dira patravit nondum restinguitur.* Both these Inscriptions were erased by King James's Order, and tho' restored at the Revolution, Mr. Echard has again erased the *Furor Papisticus* in his History; He prints the first Part of the Sentence in the Translation; the Whole running thus; *Tertio die cum jam plene spericerat Humana Concilia & subsidia Omnia, cælitus, ut par est credere, jussus stetit fatalis, ignis & quaquaversum elanguit.* Mr. Echard translates it, "After three Days, when the fatal Fire had in Appearance overcome all Means of Resistance and humane Councils, by the Will of Heaven it stop'd and was extinguished. *Sed Furor Papisticus.* But Popish Fury, which perpetrated such direful Things is never to be extinguished. That's every Word sunk. Can any Thing be more apparent than the Complacency of these Men to those Papists, in concealing the Destruction committed by their diabolical Incendiaries? How natural is it to them to defend, favour and

carcs

Careless them! and I know why but too well. Instead of speaking this Monumental Truth, Arch-deacon Echard affirms roundly, "That after weighing the Circumstances, we may say that the Beginning of this dreadful Fire was the Judgment, and the End of it the Mercy of Heaven; for neither of them seem to have been the Effects of the Treachery and Malice of the Popish Faction, as we read on the Monument. The Author of the Ten Letters has dealt with him pretty well about the Presbyterians burning of London, and he will hear more of it elsewhere. In the Interim I will borrow a Word or Two of a MS. I have by me, written by the same Gentleman that wrote the Letters. It is well known the Papists breed up some Persons here to Learning, and then employ them to write Pamphlets and Histories under the Name of Church of Englandmen, and it is greatly to be suspected that ——— is such a one; he would never else become so zealous an Advocate for the Papists, to excuse their Villanies, as by his History in Charles He's Reign plainly appears. Whoever bred Dr. Zachary, I am convinc'd it was not the Papists; for let 'em be as wicked as you please, they are not so foolish as to lay out a Penny on one who by his Blunders and Assurance would do them more harm than good.

Page 173. produces another extraordinary Passage. Himself commends a beautiful Paragraph of mine, as he's pleas'd to call it; but it is a Miracle if it shou'd be so, considering the Subject, King Charles's Dissimulation with Religion, and his Severity against the Dissenters. Dr. Zachary defends in it Mr. Echard for extolling that King's Zeal for the Protestant Religion at the same Time that he knew him to be a Papist. 'Tis such sort of Causes that this excellent Law Doctor takes in Hand.

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He abuses me in the following Quotation, which is maim'd: He has left out *who in direct Opposition to the Light of the Gospel and Nature would set up their arbitrary Wills and temporal Interests: He leaves out also, instead of Religion and Virtue.* I took that Occasion to explain my self as to the Clergy I only meant, whenever they were spoken of; and that they were not the Reverend, Learned, and Loyal Body of the Church of England Divines. I further explain'd my self afterwards. p. 275. by naming *Tennison, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Calamy, Claget, Cudworth, More, Williams, &c.* To these I might have added the living Ornaments of our Protestant Church, *Wake, Blackburn, Talbot, Willis, Gibson, Hoadly,* and innumerable others of superior and inferior Clergy in London and the Country, who for Piety, Learning, and Worth, have given a Character to the sacred Function which all the Protestant World revere and rejoice in. But what's this to Dr. *Zachary*, and others of his Temper and Merit! He's here guilty of another Falsity, and says he knows who I mean, *Burton, Marshal, Sterry, Hickeringill, and Burnet*; the Libeller herding that great Prelate with such as he treats as Scoundrels; some of whom I never heard of.

Because he calls my next Paragraph *beautiful*, I'll repeat it; it contains what Bishop Burnet says of the *usual Disorders on the 29th of May for King Charles's Nativity and Restoration*; and adds, *on which Day the same Faction continue to commit the same Disorders, to keep up the same Spirit of Tyranny, Ecclesiastical and Civil.* We have heard of another Holy-day of theirs in King James I.'s Time, and what Work they made of it in the Choir of St. Paul's. In the same St. Paul's they have since sold the same Thing, to keep up the same Spirit, &c. There's more Beauty for him, since he's so taken with it.

I will not leave the *Popish Plot*, as *Zachary Grey* has left it; in the *Second Edition* of the *Critical History*, the Design of these Men to invalidate it, is laid open, by the Writer of the *Ten Letters* to that Author. The Parliament, *M. D. 1678. RESOLVED*, *That there hath been, and is, an execrable and Hellish Design, contrived and carried on by Popish Recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, for subverting the Government, and for destroying the Protestant Religion by Law established.* Contrary to this solemn Resolution appear the Historian and his Champion; and why do they labour so to give the *Lye* to the Parliament? *Dr. Calamy* tells us, a Bill was brought in to exempt his Majesty's Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties imposed upon Papists, 25 *Eliz.* It past the House of Commons and House of Lords; but the Faction stole it out of that House before it came to the King. This good Bill being in Agitation at the same Time that the *Popish Plot* was prosecuted, they would never forgive the Parliament; and the Court, says *Calamy*, used all their Endeavours to save and screen the Plotters. The Mischief that has been done by their false and impudent Assertions, to turn this Plot into Ridicule, is apparent in the Incredulity of some well-meaning Persons; and their Lectures of Hereditary Right, together with their Invectives against the Revolution, will, I fear, have no good Effect in the End, however they may be now neglected and despis'd. *Dr. Zachary* has been prov'd in one Falsity already, for saying I had never seen a Manuscript. I have one now before me, which may see the Light in Time, relating to the History of England, which he's very fond of, and in it are these Words, *totidem Verbis*: If the Punishment of *Dr. Leighton* for mistaken Opinions against the Church, supposing them to be mistaken,

ken, without Malice; and if the Punishment of Dr. Oates wrongfully, as now fully appears, were just Severities, as tender Mr. . . . seems to think, sure such Punishment would be less severe to him, who wilfully and knowingly publishes Falshoods in History, and writes so much for the Pretender against our happy Constitution, that I know a Lawyer, if he were A ——— y G ——— l, would form and maintain a Ind ——— t of H ——— T ——— n against him from his History; but I suppose the G ——— t does not think him a Man of such Consequence as to trouble themselves about him. Much more of the same Kind is in this MS. written by a Gentleman of good Sense and great Experience; who understands our Laws and Constitution, who saw London in Flames, and heard the Popish Conspirators try'd, and who has nothing to spirit him in these Matters but his Zeal for the Truth, and the Government, founded on these Principles, and which the Historian and Dr. Grey have endeavour'd to villify. That Author has made several curious Remarks on the Lord C ——— n's History, for my Use: I intended to have added them to the Comparison I made between his Lordship's Collections and Rushworth's, but for Quietness sake only I will forbear. The Zeal I just mention'd is too often taken for Officiousness and Impertinence: Politicks possess some People like Inspiration; and ten Years Study will not teach a Man as much as ten Hours Practice.

Zachary Grey calls his Scription, A Defence, &c. and when he speaks of a Lampoon of Dryden's against my Lord Sommers and Coll. Sydney, he says 'twas in Defence of Truth, and shou'd not be call'd a Libel. He speaks one Word for Dryden and two for himself.

Why does he say that all the sober sensible Men were Whigs, and all the Addressers and Abhorers, p. 180. Dunces and Blockheads? Indeed I have

heard them called worse; but I did not expect it from him. He is labouring to prove that my Lord *Sbafisbury* had an *Association* in his House against King *Charles II.* without any Name to it; and I can tell him where there's an *Association* against King *James II.* with a Million of Names to it.

The greatest Rarity in p. 181. is his bringing a new Authority on the Stage, one *Salmon*, an *Historiographer*, but by no Means so celebrated as Dr. *Salmon* the Quack. This Man he calls one Page after another, *ingenious Author*; but I find his *Ingenuity* consists in just such another Libel as Dr. *Zachary's*, against the late Bishop of *Salisbury*, and certain *Monthly Histories*, published doubtless with a very laudable Design, of both Bookseller and Author, to get a Penny if possible, tho' there is nothing else to be got by it. This good Man's Works, and the *Carveat against the Whigs* are Dr. *Grey's* Crutches to help him to the End of his Labour. Such Authorities as these are below Cognizance and Criticism. I will not answer a Word to any Thing which I find their Names to; and when one of them, as *Salmon* the *Historiographer*, calls the Bishop of *Sarum* malicious and ignorant, p. 181. *Zach. Grey* cries out, Oh! the ingenuous Writer! There's a Parcel of 'em, the Lord help us! If there were no better Authors than they are, *Salmon* the Quack's Works would be inestimable.

I know very well they will rail against the City of *London*, when under its natural Government, as I hope to God it will now be even in our Times. Accordingly, we have some Pages in vindicating the Seizure of the City Liberties, and the arbitrary *Quo Warranto*, p. 186, 187. Does there want any Thing to be said in that Case, after Sir *Geo. Treby*, Sir *Henry Pollexfen*, Sir *John Holt*, and the greatest

greatest Judges and Lawyers in England; after the declared Sense of the Parliament, as to the Illegality of that Seizure, and after the Infamy that attended it! These are the *Diminutive* Writers, who in *Echard's* high Tone, rake into *Kennels* and *Common Shores*; and indeed there's no other Place fit for them.

In Page 188. the Law Doctor shews, that instead of not understanding History and Eloquence, he knows nothing at all. Bishop Burnet had said of my Lord Chancellor Finch, *He w's long much admired for his Eloquence, but it was laboured and affected, and he saw it was much despised before he dy'd.* To prove that it was not so, Grey produces his old Friend *Echard* and others, saying, He was an *incorrupt Judge*. Bless the Soul him! Did not I say, I do not repeat it to depreciate so great and worthy a Magistrate? But what's all this to the *Silver Tongue*, the *Cicero*, to *Echard's* applauding what the Bishop tells us was so much despised. His Lordship's Probity was never in Question, nor his Abilities as a Lawyer; it seems his *Stile* was *laboured and affected*: Mr. *Echard's* is the very same; and good Reason why he should call him *Cicero* and *Silver Tongue*. As for *Zachary Grey* he has no *Stile* at all, and none of these Men can distinguish what is *sublime*, what *pathetick*, what *natural*, what *pure*, in Language, from what is *affected* and *laboured*. I don't mean such *Diminutives* as Dr. *Zachary*, but the *Silver Tongues* and the *Cicero's* of the Party. He says, p. 188, I have not seen Dr. *Prideaux's* Character of Mr. *Echard*. I say I saw it in Print before the Doctor did; and if I had seen it a thousand times I should never have thought the better of Mr. *Echard's* History or his *Stile*: I am too well acquainted with both, to want any new Knowledge of them. Besides, Dean *Prideaux* only says, Mr. *Echard's Ecclesiastical History* is *the*

best of its Kind in the English Tongue. So it may be; and yet be as far from *Ciceronian* as our Doctor's is.

In the next Page he boldly affirms, that *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* are not ingrafted into the Doctrine of the Church; not into the true Protestant Church of *England*, I know they never were, and never will be; but into *Hick's Church*, and *Collier's Church*, into *Higgins's Church*, *Sachevarel's Church*, into his *Historian's* and his own, they have been ingrafted from the famous *Oxford Decree*, printed in the *Gazette*, 1683, and burnt by the *Common Hangman*, 1710. That *Ingraftment* of mine he affirms is a *Small Mistake*. Why did he not say *Lye*, as he used to do, and with the very same Reason?

Now draws on the most horrible Scene that ever was opened in the Christian World, the Murder of the illustrious and beloved Lord *Russel*, the Honourable Col. *Sydney*, the worthy Alderman *Cornish*, with whose Blood he drenches himself, wipes his Mouth, and cries no Harm. He's all along next the Executioner in these Tragedies, applauding and encouraging the dreadful Work; and in Excuse of so many barbarous Murders, he quotes out of *Salmon*, *L'Estrange*, and the like, demanding, *If I had seen the Lord Russel's Paper*, Yes, yes, I have seen it, and read it, and have it by Heart, to the Abhorrence of every Hand that was polluted with his Blood. I have seen all the Acts that declared the Death of these *Patriots* to be *Murders*. I have also seen and read the learned Solicitor General, Sir *John Hawles's* Remarks upon their Tryals, proving the Illegality and Barbarity of them. All this and much more have I seen, to the same Purpose; as also how Mr. E-

chard has cruelly mis-represented the Matter, and is supported in it by Dr. Grey and his Authors; of which I wish they may repent, and be as sorry for it as they ought to be ashamed. 'Tis plain, quoth the Doctor, the Lord *Russel* was in the Plot, and that it was no *Sham Plot*. He has but the Parliament, and every honest *Englishman*, but Fact and Truth against him: All which I know he defies, and therefore shall not insist upon it.

He calls me, p. 197. to repent of the many Calumnies upon the best of Princes and best of Men; and I dare him to prove I said one Word or Syllable against the best of Men and best of Princes: Is there the least Hint to the Dishonour of King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne* and King *George*? Have not I always obey'd these best of Princes out of Love as well as Duty? How grossly then does he abuse me as guilty of Calumnies upon them? For sure the best of Men and best Princes can relate to them only in our History since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Page 196. he quotes me; *Sprat's Character* (as an Historian) is so notorious, that I would not blemish the meanest Offender on his Authority. Very true; no more I would not. And for the Reason, his giving the Lye to my Lord *Russel's* dying Words. Can it be plainer, than that I mean only his Infincerity as an Historian? And to shew the Character is false, he tells you Dr. *Felton* cries him up as an Orator. I never met with a Mortal so Stupid; yet this is he, who accuses me of Unjust Inferences.

He then very foolishly endeavours to demonstrate that Col. *Sydney* meant the Parliament's Side, by the Good Old Cause, in which he was engaged from his Youth. Did ever any one say he was engaged on the King's Side? He tells us further, out of Lord C — n, he was sent Plenipotentiary to Sweden

den and Denmark; and I further tell him, that he wrote in the State Table Book at Sweden,

Manus Hæc Inimica Tyrannis.

But now comes the Cream of all; which is a real and true Character from *John Nalson*, L.L.D. a Factious Libeller, as is the other with the same Letters. *Nalson*, about the Time of the Popish Plot, was sent to Jail for writing seditious Pamphlets. An excellent Authority this, and the better for *Zachary Grey's* Use. I never heard of so impudent a Falsity as *Nalson* tells till within this Month. This other Law Doctor speaking of Col. *Sydney*, He was also one in that infamous Commission for that pretended High Court of Justice, by which they tried, condemned, and put to Death, one of the most excellent Men, and most admirable Princes, that ever wore a Royal Diadem. They will have their Say. He was not only named in that execrable Commission, but actually was in the Court, and upon the Bench with that Villain *Bradshaw*. To this Mr. *Echard* says directly, p. 654. Col. *Sydney* did NOT ACT: Nay, that he refused to act and sit in Judgment. I would not have been so long upon *Nalson*, knowing him to be a False, Insolent, Ignorant Writer, but I find him very often quoted, and much rely'd upon by the same Historian himself. As to *Zachary Grey*, L. L. D. he certainly likes him the better for this most staring LYE. The Word cannot give Offence, after such Evidence against him as Mr. Archdeacon.

Dr. *Zacary* makes *Nalson* witness again in a Passage, where, after having vomited a Heap of Filth and Falshood against that noble Person, he tells another such a one as he told before: The Tryal was managed with great Coolness and Temper. Mr. *Echard*, on the contrary, owns his Death was more

more a Murder than any of the rest; *The Hardships he met with were greater than any before.* Here his own *Nelson* again, and his own *Grey* to support him. *Sir John Hawles* tells us, what Methods the perjured Judges and Juries took to sacrifice these State Martyrs to Popish Tyranny. *The King's Counsel* pack'd the Jury*. But I consider, I am talking to two or three *Hirelings*, who are not worthy, nor capable of Satisfaction in such a Case as *Col. Sydney's*.

I beg Pardon for troubling the Reader with the following Citation out of an *Harangue* made by the impious *Nelson*, on the Cause of the *Long Parliament*; which was in so solemn and publick a Manner vindicated by *Sir Harbottle Grimston*, Speaker of that House of Commons, who brought in the King, p. 203. *In short, this Old Cause of Mr. Sydney's is the Daughter of the Old Serpent, who was for a Reformation in Heaven, and made the first Conspiracy against the Almighty Monarch; She is the Mother of Sedition, Hypocrisy, Perjury, Rebellion, Murder, Rapine, Sacrilege, Revenge, War, Slaughter, Tyranny, Oppression, Slavery, Confusion and Ruin; and if these Qualifications, and all that can be said that is wicked and impious on this Side Hell, which may literally to a Tittle be justified against her, be not sufficient to recommend this old Beldam to the eternal Detestation of all Mankind, Lucifer, Beelzebub, Satan, and all the Infernal Crew, &c.* He holds his Breath in one Sentence twelve Lines longer. Here's the Glory of the Party, for History, Eloquence, Piety and Charity; here's the Flower of Reason and Rhetorick. I often mentioned what sort of Doctors they were, but had never such an Opportunity of shewing it. I doubt not by their Manner but both our Historian and his Champion envy

* Remarks, p. 45. Sr. T. Vol. II.

such happy Flights as these, and set them always before 'em as a Pattern, which must be owned to be inimitable. Besides the Blood that they spilt for the *Sham Rye-House Plot*, their profaning the Holy Name of the Almighty, to countenance the Forgery, is extremely terrible and shocking. The *Providential Fire at New-Market: The Fire at New-Market*, prevented by God's Providence, and the like Terms used by the King's Attorney, and by a thousand Clergy. My Lord of Sarum, speaking of Sir Thomas Armstrong's Death, says, *By this Time the Credit of the Witnesses was so blasted, that it seems the Court was afraid the Jurors would not now be so easy as they had been, and Sir Thomas declared he knew of no Plot but the Popish Plot.*

I shall only repeat what Dr. Zachary quotes out of the *Crit. Hist.* p. 206. Bishop Burnet has given us the Character of King Charles at large, and I take it to be one of the most like and disagreeable Pictures that ever was drawn. So I do, and could point out to those Likenesses; but of what Use would that be to him? You might as well shew a Picture to the Horse in *Stocks-Market*. He has Eyes perhaps, but not capable of such Perceptions. There was another Earl that gave a Character of that Monarch besides the Earl of *Mulgrave*:

Chaste, Pious, Prudent, &c.

E. of Roch.

I have not that Lord's Works by me, and have forgot the rest.

The Addresses of the Dissenters were so shameful, that some of 'em fell little short of Blasphemy; Dr. Zachary's fine Reflection, p. 210. The Addresses of his Faction were so shameful, that the *Crit. Historian* publish'd two Volumes in *Harley* and *St. John's Time*, collected out of those excellent Pieces, which

which were presented to the two Kings, and printed in the Gazette; and, says a late Author, *There's not any where else to be met with so much Fustian, Flattery, false Zeal, Contradiction, foul Language, Execration, Malice, Revenge, Dulness and Nonsense.* The *Dunces* and *Blockheads*, so Dr. *Zachary* called them, complimented the King for ruling without Parliaments, seizing the Customs, and keeping up a Standing Army. These Papers were generally drawn up by the Smaller Clergy in the Country, and are equally remarkable for the Sense and for the Language, as may be seen in the History of 'em.

Page 210. he quotes what my Lord of Sarum said, *The Bishops that were gained by the Court, carried their Complaisance to a shameful Pitch, for they set on Addresses of Thanks to the King, for the Promises he had made of maintaining the Church of England, tho' it was visible the Intent was to destroy it.* Of the same Piece with *Echard's* applauding King *Charles's* Zeal for the Protestant Religion, when he had told us before he was a Papist. To justify the Infallibility of the abovementioned Bishops, Dr. Grey, in his wonted Way of arguing and inferencing, tells us, *the Addresses of the Dissenters were shameful.* So some of 'em were; and it is well known that they are not infallible. *There were high Flights* in some of the Dissenting Addresses, for which, says Dr. Calamy, *I could be loth to Apologize, that which most of 'em run upon, was Thanks to the King for the Liberty they had, and a Promise to behave themselves quietly in the Use of it.* Supposing they did carry their Hyperboles too far, is there no Excuse for it? People that come at once out of the Dark into the Light are sometimes almost blinded by the Change. The King had deliver'd 'em out of the Hand of those that had murdered their best Patriots, and tormented and mangled in
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the most bloody Manner their Fellow Subjects; witness the reverend and learned Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, whose Sufferings are not to be paralell'd in the History of *Nero*, *Domitian*, and the most cruel of the *Roman* Tyrants. They might well be thankful to have their Dungeons changed into Meeting-Houses, and instead of Jaylors, Informers and Felons, to have the Sweet Society of their Families and Friends. It must be owned the Fathers of our Church have generally abhorr'd that barbarous Treatment of our Protestant Brethren, *Laud*, *Wrey*, *Sheldon*, *Morley*, *Mew*, and some few others excepted. The same Abhorrence of Persecution has appear'd in the *London* Clergy for the most Part, and in the most worthy of the Country Divines, whose Piety, Learning, and Charity, give them a Distinction superior to all Titles and Dignities: But the fatal Rage predominated, and still predominates in the lowest of the rural Priesthood, of whose Intemperance may be truly said, *Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do*. These are the loudest in a Claim to the *Apostolical Succession*; these are the most constant Declaimers upon the Dignity of their Order; and amid much Ignorance and Folly wou'd extort that Respect which the Wise and Virtuous will never want. We that live in Villages feel these Things, and therefore tho' to talk thus in the World wou'd be impertinent, we who live out of it cannot help telling our Grievance. I have said enough of the *Addreses* from Dr. *Grey's* Blockheads and Dunces, and shall only add, that if the Dissenters did address the King a little exorbitantly on Occasion of the Indulgence, they never *address'd* Heaven on the Occasion of an Imposture, as others did in the Prayer appointed by his Majesty's Special Command, to be used in *London* and ten Miles round it, on Sunday the 15th of *Jan.* 1687-8, and throughout

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England on Sunday the 29th of the same Month, upon Occasion of King James's Queen Mary being with Child. These are some of the Words of it: *Blessed be that good Providence which has vouchsafed us fresh Hopes of Royal Issue, by our Gracious Queen Mary: Strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun: Command thy holy Angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all Dangers and evil Accidents, that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth, to the Joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the Establishment of his Crown, the Happiness and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, and the Glory of thy Great Name.* Here's mocking of God! A Popish Prince for the Welfare of a Protestant Kingdom, and an Idolatrous Worship to the Glory of God's Great Name. The chief Penman of this Prayer was the same Sprat that wrote the Romance of the Rye, and on whose Veracity I seem'd something scrupulous to make much Dependence.

I said, p. 328. " 'Tis the general Opinion of
 " the Common People of our Church, that there
 " is no other Protestant Church in the World, but
 " that all Christendom besides is made up of Pa-
 " pists and Schismatics: This is zealously in-
 " culcated by the inferior Clergy; and I have
 " the Charity to think many of them are so ig-
 " norant as to know no better, and to believe it."

Dr. Zachary does not go about to shew that those Inferiours of the Order do allow the Reform'd of Geneva, the Dutch Churches, &c. to be our Protestant Brethren, against whom I have often heard the most bitter Invectives from the Pulpit, but proves it false by the strongest Argument he has: *His own Say-so: This is so grossly scandalous and simple, that it carries its own Confutation along with it.* That is, no Body ever heard a Word spoken against the Geneva Worship, the Geneva Discipline, nay, nor the Ge-

new Bible, out of the Mouth of any Vicar or Curate from London to the Land's-End. This surely does not carry its own Confutation with it. The Fact is not only known by Man, Woman and Child, but it has been an Observation of Foreigners; and what I quote not being written by an Englishman, will, I hope, have the more Weight in it. He says modestly and truly enough; *The Government of every Protestant Kingdom and State should take Care that no Protestants who agree in the Established Doctrine of their respective Kingdoms or States, should for their Difference in other Things, be made incapable of Ecclesiastical and Civil Preferment, that there should be a mutual Forbearance of one another in those minute Differences, and no other Terms of Communion impos'd upon any, but those that are the revealed Terms of Salvation. There is no Reform'd Nation in the World so guilty of this as England, &c.* One would not think it necessary to say a Word in Confirmation of what the Critical Historian observ'd of the Disposition of certain Churchmen to all Foreign Protestants: Not one of his staunch Ones will disown it; and I shall add a Line or two upon this out of an Occasional Paper, Numb. 2. *The Fathers of our Reformation valued themselves as a principal Branch of the Protestant Interest, and cultivated a strict Friendship and Union with those Abroad, who agreed in the general Principles of Separation from the Church of Rome, tho' they had different Sentiments of some particular Doctrines, and chose another Model of Church-Government, and other Circumstances of Worship: But of later Years, and especially in the impetuous Clamours of our Time, the Church is made the Term of Distinction from all other Protestants, rather than from Popery, the People being taught to say, That 'tis better to be a Papist than a Presbyterian; tho' most of the Foreign Protestants are such.*

How

How the *Hugonots*, the *Dutch*, the *Palatines*, have been treated by us, is no Secret; how they have been ridicul'd and contemn'd. All the *Naturalization* Bills that ever were offer'd to the Parliament, have been constantly oppos'd by Dr. *Zachary's* Party; and the main Reason given for it, is the Danger the Church may be in by it. Have not they carry'd the Matter so far, as to blame our assisting the *Dutch* Protestants, they being Rebels to the King of *Spain*? and of our assisting the *French* Protestants, see what Archdeacon *Echard* tells us, p. 440. King Charles, by aiding those at Rochelle, train'd up his own Subjects in the School of Rebellion, and at length brought down the Judgments of Heaven upon his own Head. There is not any one Thing that seems favourable to the true *English* Spirit of Liberty, but has been villify'd by the Betrayers of their Country. Thus our Protestant Allies Abroad, thus our Metropolis the City of London at Home, which is called by Mr. *Echard* the Sink of Sedition. *Peter Heylin* wrote a Book entitled, *The Black Cross*, shewing that the *Londoners* were the Cause of the Rebellion; and *L'Estrange* said, a Citizen's Skull was the fittest Thing in the World to try the Temper of a Soldier's Sword upon. These are the Glorious Champions of our Religion and Rights; and among these, shines in a most eminent Manner, Dr. *Zachary Grey*, Author of the Defence, whose last Words in his Libel are these, which I repeat as my last Specimen of his Honesty, Modesty, and Understanding: I give you my Word I have not either falsify'd, misrepresented, or misapply'd any one Historical Fact. The Lord have Mercy upon him!

• F I N I S.



FINIS

